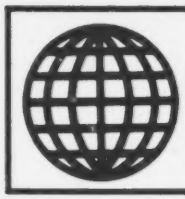

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-228
Wednesday
29 November 1989

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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-228 *29 November 1989*

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Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Budapest

LD2711184189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Warsaw Pact defense ministers are conferring in Budapest. Since it is a very topical meeting, the participants will probably discuss updating the 20-year-old military treaty. Laszlo Gardai interviews Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, staff member of the Defense Ministry:

[Begin recording] [Gardai] Have all the ministers arrived?

[Keleti] All except one. From Czechoslovakia it is not the defense minister but the highest ranking deputy of the defense minister who has come to Budapest.

[Gardai] To what extent is the fact that this body is conferring precisely at this time connected with the events taking place in East Europe?

[Keleti] There is no connection whatsoever from the standpoint that this corporate session would be directed toward assessing changing events. It must be known in this regard that the individual countries follow in sequence according to the Russian alphabet. Last December it was Bulgaria's turn; now it is Hungary's turn.

[Gardai] So there is nothing extraordinary in this. What will they talk about? What will they discuss?

[Keleti] Of course, like every year—after all this body has been functioning for 20 years—they will debate the topical issues concerning cooperation and the Warsaw Pact. I said just now that the consultation has nothing to do with their trying to change anything; nevertheless, I would say that it is, after all, to a certain extent, connected with changes in East Europe. It is expected that the modernization of the Warsaw Pact's military organization will come up for discussion. This is new. It is also expected that the points on the agenda will be examined from aspects such as the joint defense doctrine. This, too, is an idea that is somewhat more than 2 years old. The ministers will also take into consideration the results of the discussions that are in progress in Vienna and that are expected to lead to an Armed Forces reduction. [end recording]

Meeting Participants

LD2711212189 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—Participants at the forthcoming 24th session of the defence ministers' committee of Warsaw Treaty member states arrived in Budapest on Monday afternoon.

They include Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of Warsaw Treaty member states and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief-of-staff of the United Armed Forces, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Emil Liska, engineer lieutenant general, first deputy minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defence of the Republic of Poland, vice-admiral Theodor Hoffmann, minister of national defence of the GDR, Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Army General Dmitri Yazov, minister of defence of the Soviet Union.

The delegations were met at Ferihegy Airport by Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, as well as members of the Hungarian delegation participating in the talks.

Meeting Opens 28 Nov

LD2811144989 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—The session of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee opened in Budapest Tuesday. Attending are Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, deputy commander-in-chief.

In his opening, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, pointed out the gaining ground of favourable tendencies in international life and the easing of East-West relations. He expressed his conviction that the transformation of international relations was primarily due to the new political thinking adopted by the Soviet Leadership, its greater spirit of compromise and higher flexibility, accompanied by the constructive foreign policy of Warsaw Treaty members and the change in Western attitudes.

The defense minister was of the opinion that the international image of the organization and the credibility of its disarmament intentions had improved in the wake of proposals, compromises and unilateral measures which did not affect their security interests and mitigated traditional Western fears of military threat from the Warsaw Treaty.

The colonel-general noted with satisfaction that the alliance, including the Soviet Union, had retained the initiative in the disarmament process up to the present. As the danger of mutual and complete annihilation continues to exist, efforts should be made to gradually reduce the vast nuclear arsenals. The Warsaw Treaty members consistently work to render disarmament lasting and irreversible.

For this reason, the Warsaw Treaty members take a resolute stand against the endeavours of forces demanding compensatory military measures, as they are aware that rearmament with new types of weapons may

reduce or even invalidate the favourable effects of the agreement on the abolition of medium and shorter-range nuclear weapons.

Mr Karpati stressed Hungary's conviction that all countries of the alliance are interested in reaching a comprehensive agreement in the Vienna talks which would help to eradicate the elements of suspicion and hostility from East-West relations, and contribute to a new security relationship and partnership between the countries.

Mr Karpati said that the agreement on the concrete reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe requires profound changes in the doctrines of both the NATO and Warsaw Treaty, and stemming from this are the demand and possibility that the new security policy concept and statements of principle of the socialist countries should be reinforced not only from the political side of doctrines but also from military-technical aspects.

In conclusion, Mr Karpati said that, on the basis of the Bucharest Resolution of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in July 1989 and the previous decisions of the Defence Ministers' Committee, the sides are to put forward and discuss five important and topical issues that serve the modernization of the joint armed forces and their defensive doctrine, and the cooperation of brothers-in-arms. The consultation is to end with the acceptance of a closing document on Thurday.

GDR's Modrow Comments on CEMA Ties

LD1811235189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The GDR People's Chamber gave a vote of confidence by a great majority—five deputies were against and (?six) abstained—to Prime Minister Hans Modrow's cabinet. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Hans Modrow briefly met newsmen, who were covering the chamber session. When I asked him how he expected CEMA relations to further develop, Modrow had this to say:

[Begin Modrow recording in German, with superimposed Czech translation] This would be a difficult question, even if I had already been in office for 6 months; however, I have only just taken up the reins. But seriously, I have already drawn attention to certain matters in the government statement. We are basing our thinking on the fact that changes are currently taking place in CEMA's structure, just as they are in the individual states, and in our country too, of course; we are trying to put into effect a process of general renewal. Therefore, I start out from the basis that all of us must jointly introduce new ideas into CEMA. I anticipate, however, that we can only shape our further economic development in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries, and that is also what we intend to do. [end recording]

[Passage omitted] Regarding Egon Krenz's visit to Prague, Foreign Minister Fischer said that the purpose is to brief our neighbors and friends on developments in the country. The visit also has a symbolic importance, he said, because it should provide an impetus for the further development of relations between the two countries.

CEMA-Finnish Cooperation Meeting in Sofia

AU1611080589 Sofia BTA in English 0711 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—The 17th session of the Committee for Cooperation Between the CMEA [CEMA] Member Countries and Finland started here yesterday [15 November]. For sixteen years this body has been contributing to the promotion of economic cooperation in Europe and to the creation of favourable conditions for establishing contacts. Through the channels of the committee, three hundred specialists of the socialist countries got to meet Finnish partners and to hold negotiations with them. More than 70 companies, research organizations and institutions of Finland maintain direct contacts with enterprises and companies of the CMEA member countries. Bulgaria and Finland taken alone have 50 operative agreements on cooperation.

In the field of statistics the working group developed methods of making data and indexes uniform, and they can be applied on a large scale in other fields, too. The processes of development which are under way all over the world create very good prerequisites for making our work concrete. They coincide with our desire to carry out trade more freely, a trade without obstacles, said Mr Kalervo Hentila, director general at the Ministry of Trade and Industry and leader of the Finnish delegation. He pointed out that now there are good conditions for active international trade and broad economic cooperation.

CEMA Powder Metallurgy Experts Meet in Kosice

AU1511164189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A working meeting of guarantors responsible for the development of powder metallurgy, which is a part of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000, began in Kosice on Monday [13 November]. Experts from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, Romania, and the USSR will discuss for 1 week the theoretical principles of the preparation of powder materials and the utilization of secondary materials in their production. They will assess the results of cooperation to date and the preparations for the plan of joint procedure in the 1990-95 period.

CPCZ Plenum, Resignations Reported

AU2511214189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee plenum which met yesterday and accepted the resignations of General Secretary Milos Jakes also appointed Karel Urbanek as new general secretary.

REUTER reports that Prime Minister Vladislav Adamec has also resigned. In connection with the aforementioned resignations, which followed 8 days of massive protests in Prague and other Czechoslovak cities, Genadiy Gerasimov, the spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared at a press conference that the leader of the CPCZ had said that Czechoslovakia was at the crossroads and that its long-term development was impossible without reforms.

The Soviet newspaper PRAVDA, after expressing its sympathy for the participants in the protest demonstrations, points out that the people did not go into the streets incited by the West, but because of the problems accumulated in that country. REUTER stated in a commentary that Moscow had urged Czechoslovakia to follow East Germany's road in the direction of reforms.

Gorbachev himself called on Prague earlier this week to progress more rapidly on the road of reforms.

The U.S. State Department called yesterday on the Czechoslovak authorities to continue on the road toward capitalist reforms, while British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called on Czechoslovakia to establish a Western-style government.

Meanwhile, as reported by REUTER, demonstrations took place again in Prague today, with the participation of thousands. As a result, Miroslav Stepan and Miroslav Zavadil resigned only a few hours after having been reelected as members of the party's Presidium at the extraordinary plenum.

Walesa's Quest for Aid in U.S.Viewed

AU2411173689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "'Solidarity' and United States Aid"]

[Text] The visit by Lech Walesa, the leader of the now official trade union "Solidarity," to Washington in search of more financial aid in an attempt to cure the ailing Polish economy was recently reported in the Polish capital. In such a situation, the results of Walesa's 11-day visit are awaited with particular interest in Warsaw, where the reforms heading toward a free market economy have now emboldened the new government to knock on the doors of Wall Street. Walesa has a full program of meetings with President Bush and personalities in business circles in Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York.

This explains the Polish trade union leader's euphoric tone in his statements, in which he says that he is going to Washington to convey thanks for United States support and to present the need for urgent financial assistance to the Polish Government. At a special press conference devoted to the visit, he said, "The United States must be our signpost on our road toward pluralism, freedom, and democracy." Of course, the dire state of the Polish economy requires billions of dollars of aid which, as officials in Warsaw themselves admit, will be used to stimulate and develop both the private and state sectors.

First of all, as a condition for their aid, the United States and the West are calling for a guarantee of Poland's increasing progress in its capitalist reforms; such a guarantee is precisely the basis for Walesa's current visit.

It is striking that, in this context, the aim of "Solidarity" is that Poland should receive $10 billion in aid in the next 3 years, of which $4.3 billion is to be made up of government and bank credits, $2.7 billion from the IMF, and $3 billion from the World Bank. The Polish demands have aroused great hopes among United States firms and tycoons, who are calculating the fat profits to be gained from this large-scale economic and political adventure in Poland. Congress even indicated to Bush that he was "appearing to be unforthcoming" in offering aid, while Wall Street called for "an outstretched hand to heal the wounds" of East European countries. The United States Administration is committed to giving Poland urgent economic aid to the tune of $400 million in order to hasten the reforms, but Congress is preparing to approve a much greater sum of aid at the end of this week.

Experts point out that this money will be not be enough to put the ailing Polish economy back on its feet, for the annual inflation rate is now approaching 300 percent. It has been pointed out in Warsaw that the country is facing many difficulties, and that the economic crisis is deteriorating, primarily as a result of the foreign debt of more than $39 billion. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, has himself said that "the country is entering into a period of chronic instability and is undergoing a difficult time with its reforms, because the reforms will not be completed for a few years."

It is at such a time that Walesa is visiting the United States, precisely because his old ties with United States and Western capital are well known. The trade union "Solidarity," until recently unofficial, relied greatly on the support of this capital on its road to power. It continues to enjoy this support, now that it has the Polish Government in its hand.

Alia Speaks on Ideology, Changes in Bloc

AU2311104289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, at the Republic Prize ceremony in the hall of the People's Assembly in Tirana on 22 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades,

It is a special pleasure for me to participate in this nice ceremony attended by some of the most distinguished artists and scholars who are being honored with the Republic Prize and other high titles granted on the occasion of the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the victory of our people's revolution. On this occasion, I bring you greetings and felicitations in the name of the party Central Committee for your fruitful work for the good of the people and our socialist country.

The Republic Prize and the titles awarded are not only a deserved sign of social and state appreciation for the recipients, but also an honor for our entire socialist culture, our new science, and our revolutionary literature and art. In congratulating you, we therefore congratulate the entire intelligentsia of our country—our specialists, scholars, writers and artists, teachers, and innovators who, together with the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry, have made and are making a great contribution in the all-round progress of the new Albania. [applause]

Great and epoch-making transformations have taken place in our country during the years of the people's regime. Socialism restored the national dignity of the Albanians and opened up the way of civilization. In this social system, the Albanian people manifested more than ever before their vitality as a nation, their ancient culture, their capability to respect themselves and others, and their ability to progress and to enhance their creative force. Only 45 years were needed to reject all those insults and all the mud flung at them in the past. It is only in the party's era that our country occupied the place it deserved in the international community. Had Albania not embarked on the socialist road, who knows what its destiny would have been. Many anti-Albanian scenarios were hatched up in the European chancelleries and in those of neighboring countries. Many favors were given at its expense also during the Antifascist World War. Many old dreams, much covetousness, and a lot of imperial mentalities have inspired these scenarios and plans, and the same applies today.

The socialist era is the era of a genuine and all-round revival. During the past 45 years the economic backwardness, ignorance, poverty, and other evils of the past were liquidated one after another. The establishment of a contemporary industry and the perfecting of its structure, the establishment of the cooperative system and the modernization of agriculture, the widespread dissemination of education and culture among the masses, the emancipation of social relations, and extensive and profound establishment of socialist civilization are only some of those magnificent victories belonging to what the people call the party's era. It is the party's special merit to have given priority consideration to the training of the intelligentsia, specialists, and cadres. Our country, which arrived almost at the middle of the 20th century with an almost totally illiterate population, now has an entire army of knowledgeable people who are competently serving the country in all fields of social activity. There are over 70,000 cadres with higher education—physicians, agronomists, engineers, teachers, architects, and geologists. They have all emerged from the people and have been raised among the people. They are bound to the people and socialism like flesh is to the bone.

Our achievements in all fields testify to the efficiency of the socialist road, for which our people have fought and are fighting resolutely. We certainly do not consider our country to be paradise on earth where everything has found its optimal solution and where life is filled only with good things. However, we cannot fail to affirm the magnificence that socialism has brought to Albania, that great leap made by our society in the years of the new life. In this way, we make our objective assessment of history and gather new strength to progress further. In this way we honor the gigantic efforts of our people and the selfless sacrifices of the generations that built the new Albania. In this way, we express our gratitude for the wise and farsighted leadership of our Albanian Workers Party, and our great leader, our unforgettable Enver. [applause]

Our people are currently making all-out efforts to implement the tasks set by the eighth Party Central Committee plenum. The thinking of the masses has been set in motion with renewed vigor and numerous initiatives have erupted throughout the country. People are thinking hard to find appropriate solutions to the problems of the times. People speak everywhere with a high sense of party-mindedness and are making valuable suggestions to promote the economy, to develop our socialist democracy, and to strengthen the people's regime. All this activity is a reflection of the vitality and courage of our party, which has never allowed bureaucratic sclerosis to strike roots, and which has never tolerated indifference toward weaknesses, shortcomings, and routine. This shows the growing creative role of the masses, their widespread participation in the country's administration, and their support for the party and its ideas.

In all this development, the active role played by the intelligentsia, specialists, and innovators is significant. All are working with all their might to resolve the problems of socialist progress. Powerful talents and personalities have emerged everywhere, in all sectors, which have created and are creating works that are

worthy of our time. The Republic Prize and the titles being awarded today reflect only a small part of this fruitful activity.

Education, the arts, and science are progressing from one year to the next, and the country's economic potential is growing rapidly. This year alone, the national income has increased by nearly 10 percent. But our future tasks, be it for the development of industry, the progress of agriculture, or the growth of education and culture are much greater. Many problems require new solutions in conformity with the socioeconomic conditions that have been created. The eighth party Central Committee plenum drew attention to this.

We are convinced that we will successfully cope with the tasks confronting us. Our country is rich in minerals and other material resources, which are constantly being renewed in quantity and quality. But prosperity is created by the people, the workers class, the laboring peasantry, the technical and creative intelligentsia, by all those who have placed their knowledge, capabilities, and strength in the service of socialism. The party leading us and its revolutionary ideology, which are full of vitality and capable of responding to the needs for our continuous development, are a sure guarantee for our progress.

Science, know-how, and technology are currently progressing very rapidly. The achievements in these fields are overtaken within short periods. In our country, too, scientific thinking and technical progress have become determining factors for our comprehensive development, particularly in strengthening the economic potential and increasing its efficiency.

From this viewpoint, creativity and studies, in the applicative as well as in the theoretical fields, cannot fail to be considered and measured in the light of their practical effectiveness for the socialist construction and the country's progress. If we still have unsatisfactory yields, even low ones, in some agricultural crops and in the livestock-raising sector, as well as in some industrial sectors, should not the scientific institutions, specialists, and innovators active in these branches look upon their work with a greater sense of responsibility.

We have creative cadres carrying out a fruitful scientific activity. However, we also have narrow-minded comrades who frequently consider their activity in higher schools, research institutes, and other creative centers only as a matter of reaching for a title or degree. Titles and degrees are useful, but not those given for theses that remain in closed files or in archives. The country's progress requires studies that provide solutions to problems and open up the way for the rapid development of the economy, culture, defense, or any other field of social activity.

Studies that are directly tied up with production will continue to be given priority. However, as in the past, the party attaches particular importance to the development of social sciences, particularly to studies that are closely connected with the current and future development of the socialist society, as well as those pertaining to international affairs.

This is dictated by the fact that problems requiring solutions are constantly arising in our struggle for socialist construction, particularly in the areas of production relations, social problems, and so forth. These depend on a number of economic, political, and social factors. What is important is that we must in the first place find solutions that are in conformity with our communist principles.

Socialism has overcome innumerable challenges and tests in Albania. Nevertheless, being a new society, it is still searching. We must be aware of the fact that we have numerous achievements to our credit, but we have also transitional difficulties arising from our development, and we are also encountering new contradictions, which are inevitable fellow travelers in our rapid advance. We must therefore, study carefully every step that we are making, to ensure that our present development complies also with the demands of the future.

From this viewpoint, it is the duty of the social sciences not merely to prove that the party has acted correctly in this or that past situation, but primarily to assist the party in clarifying in a Marxist way the problems that arise, as well as to determine the directions arising from the objective needs of our development.

Our political and social thinking is soundly based on Marxism-Leninism, the party's teachings, and those of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is a tremendous advantage. We must, therefore, tackle courageously a number of acute current problems that have emerged in life. The party has particularly criticized a certain backwardness in economic thinking, since there are numerous problems awaiting solutions in this field. However, the same situation must not be allowed to arise with regard to philosophical thinking, including questions pertaining to the development of social processes, the education of various categories of the population, jurisdiction, literary and artistic creativity, and so forth.

In the field of social sciences, it is our duty to express our opinion in a more argued manner, with maturity, and scientific discipline, particularly with regard to present-day international developments, intensifying our polemic against alien bourgeois and revisionist views. This is our duty to Marxism-Leninism in order to defend it consistently and to assist its creative development. It is our internationalist duty to the cause of the proletarian revolution to intensify our efforts in this field and to raise the level of this work.

Stressing the current problems in no way means that we should neglect our Albanological studies, which are by now fully affirmed, pertaining to our history from ancient times to the present, as well as to our language and culture. The party has expressed its high appreciation of the studies carried out in these fields, in which a good tradition has been created. However, even on these

issues, the volume of the work carried out must increase, and so must its pace, and we must deal with these questions more profoundly. Let us not forget that there exist in the world various forces that are reviving all kinds of hypotheses, attributing all kinds of genetic ancestry to the Albanians, except for their authentic ones, the Illyrians. It is the duty of linguists, historians, archaeologists, and ethnographers to scientifically defend historic truth, our national culture, its identity and originality.

Our literature and arts have always been loved by our people. They have enriched and adorned their spiritual lives. Writers and artists have been and remain the party's loyal helpers in the work of the communist education of our new man. Productivity in this field has been increasing. Albanian literature has a special tradition. Down the ages, it has been and remains a clarion call and a weapon in the fight for freedom, independence, and a better future for the people. The entire heritage that has been preserved, Barleti and Bardhi down to Migjeni, has tied literature to the destiny of the country. It is not by chance that many Albanian writers and intellectuals at the time of our National Renaissance ended their lives stabbed, poisoned, or shot by the enemy. This was because they were not only talented scholars and inspired writers, but also active patriots in the national cause, and ideologists and politicians with a spirit of rebellion.

In our age also, a whole generation of writers began their creative lives writing texts for partisan songs and poems dedicated to their fallen comrades. Later, others placed at the very center of their work the heroic struggles of the party and people and the gargantuan efforts of our working people to build socialism, bring prosperity to the homeland, and defend its freedom and independence.

There can be no serious creativity without strong civil commitment. Bourgeois aesthetes depict political and ideological commitment as a wearisome burden for art. They place quality and a partisan spirit in opposition to each other. However, an Ideological partisan spirit and artistic quality are not mutually exclusive. Life shows that works with genuine artistic value unite ideology and art and weld them into one. A communist partisan spirit is a fundamental demand not only of literature and the arts. It pervades our entire life. A communist partisan spirit runs through management, education, science, law, and the economy. It is the content of our socialist reality. Our social and foreign policies, and all the state activity of our country, must be partisan.

Literary and artistic creativity should reflect the epic character of the era of the party, the masses' militant spirit, and the magnificent vigor of communists and the people in always forging ahead in the cause of socialism, resolutely combating difficulties, and resisting the pressure of enemies to distract us from the right path.

Courage is not enough to create genuinely realist art. Socialist realism is an extensive field, but exploiting its potential calls for talent, a scientific awareness of life, society, the psychology of the people and the transformation they have undergone, inspiration, and the optimism which is behind our onward march and which is necessary to meet the challenges of the age.

Dear comrades, socialist construction and the comprehensive progress of the country require our maximal mobilization in labor, so that we will always be ready and alert to defend our lofty national interests, and the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of our homeland, ready to devote all our physical and intellectual energies to the service of the people and socialism, to work as communists, and raise our expectations of ourselves.

In our struggle for the progress of socialism, every solution needed to solve the problems that arise and every measure needed to remedy a shortcoming or improve a defect must as always be drawn from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and must respond to Albanian conditions. Our party remains convinced that the socialist road can only be followed by remaining true to the ideology of the proletariat. Any other recipe is fatal for the power of the workers class and the destiny of socialism.

We especially emphasize this when we bear in mind what is happening now in the countries of the East. There, the bourgeoisie and opportunists have joined forces and unified their tactics and strategy to abolish socialism as a social order. With demagogic slogans about freedom and democratic rights, which ignore the toiling masses in favor of certain antipeople individuals and social strata, and under the pretext of correcting mistakes that they themselves committed, they are reimposing the laws of a capitalist-type society, with all the consequences this entails.

The diversionary activities of the revisionists, which have continued for more than 30 years, have spread a red carpet for the counterrevolution. The revisionists have plunged their countries into dire economic and social crises, even surrendering the power of the state to the forces of reaction, thus pursuing their counterrevolutionary mission to its conclusion.

In the Soviet Union, they have announced that the proportion of the national wealth owned by the state should be reduced from its present level of 85 percent to 30 percent, to make room for property owned by individuals or stockholders, which means nothing other than private property. Elsewhere, some revisionist parties have even changed their names, abandoned the symbols of communism, publicly denied Marxism-Leninism, and sought refuge in the Socialis' International.

The profound and total crisis of revisionism has given a free hand to reaction and has made it more aggressive and unscrupulous than ever in its war on socialism.

Bourgeois ideologists are attempting to ascribe everything vile and base in world history to the socialist social order. They use any means to instill a belief in the masses that socialism is a social order unable to cope with the challenges of the modern world.

In warning others of the evils of communism, the bourgeoisie tries to make them believe that it is not lamenting its own fate, but that of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The aim of the bourgeoisie is to quench revolutionary aspirations and to make the masses accept capitalism as the best alternative, so that they will concentrate their energies not on overthrowing capitalism, but on perpetuating it.

In the transports of joy that have carried them away, the forces of reaction imagine that socialism has now come to an end. However, the end of revisionism is not the end of communism. The phenomenon of restoration or revanche is not only a familiar but a repeated feature in the transition from one socioeconomic order to another. How many uprisings against slave owners failed after triumphing for a time? The French bourgeoisie needed three revolutions before they finally installed their power. The years of the restoration of the monarchy is the bloodiest period in French history, and the European renaissance was marked by repeated revolutions and battles for the entire continent.

If there were historical setbacks even before the establishment of socialism, when transitions from one social order to another were not accompanied by changes in the nature of property and in the nature of the state as a rule of the majority by a minority, there is an even stronger regressive attraction when socialism emerges, because socialism radically changes production relations and the character of the power of the state.

However, such deviations in life cannot destroy the general laws governing the development of human society, which is a march toward progress. Setbacks do not last. As long as capitalism and imperialism exist, there will also be exploitation, social injustice, and the oppression of the peoples, and there will therefore always be the revolution and the struggle for freedom, socialism, and communism. [applause]

Current events in the Soviet Union and the countries of the East prove even more firmly the correctness of our party's line and Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist thinking. Thirty years ago, they warned where revisionism, now hastened by Gorbachev's perestroyka, would lead. A system that lost its popular character, deviated from socialist ideology, and was dominated by bureaucracy and corruption, could have no other logical end.

The merit and farsightedness of our party lie in the fact that it did not confine itself to criticism and determined struggle in exposing opportunist treachery. When the first symptoms of the emergence of revisionism appeared, our party established a firm line of demarcation, broke with the Soviet Union and its camp, drew lessons from their negative experience, and took steps to ensure that Albania would never deviate from the road of revolution and socialism, that the state would preserve its popular character, and that the party itself would represent the interests of the working masses. [applause]

Nobody brought us freedom and socialism as a gift. We won them with our blood and through great sacrifices, and they are a fruit of the wisdom and sweat of our people. We will therefore always cherish them in our inmost hearts, consolidating them and resolutely carrying them forward on the socialist road that our sovereign people have chosen, on the road on which our glorious Albanian Workers Party leads us.

Dear comrades, our progressive and hard-working people and our party and government greatly appreciate the creative work of talented people wherever they work; from the researcher's laboratory to the farmer's experimental plot, from the study room at home to the school laboratory, from the design departments to the construction sites of various projects, from sculptors' and artists' studios to amateur theaters and film studios.

They consider it to be work that involves passion and creative, physical, intellectual, and emotional tension, painstaking and exhausting work that is nevertheless done with joy, because you are creating for the people, the homeland, and socialism.

The party has always taken pains to create the most favorable conditions for the creators of such valuable works and to encourage them to devote their talents to the service of the people. The prizes and awards we are presenting today at such an enjoyable, cordial, friendly, and encouraging event for us all are also a significant proof of this.

Congratulating you once more on the prizes and awards with which you have been honored, I wish you every joy at the celebrations of 28 and 29 November.

Long live our people's intelligentsia.

Long live our glorious Albanian Workers Party. [applause]

Cooperation Agreement, Trade Protocol With PRC

AU2411173789 Tirana ATA in English 1049 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 24 (ATA)—The agreement on forming the Joint Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation as well as the trade protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between the government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the government of the PRC [People's Republic of China] was signed on November 23.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by the vice-minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha, and for

the Chinese side by the vice-minister of the economic and foreign trade relations, Wang Pinqing.

For 1990, the PSR of Albania will export to the PRC pig-iron, copper wires, chrome ore and concentrate, etc., and will import cotton, various chemicals, coke, mass consumer goods, machinery and equipment, etc. The signing ceremony was attended also by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the PRC, Justin Papajorgji, and the members of the two delegations.

Amnesty Expresses 'Socialist Humanism'

AU2811141689 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "An Expression of the Strength and Humanism of Our Socialist Order"]

[Text] In the four corners of our country, our working masses read in the press and heard on the television and radio of the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the extensive amnesty marking the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. This is the third time within the last decade that our people's state has issued such a decree, which is in essence an expression of the humanism and strength of our social order. It shows our society's care for the individual, but also expresses once again the truths which everybody knows from experience; that our socialist order is constantly becoming stronger; that our country's moral and political condition is healthy; that the people's unity around the party is as firm as steel; and that the international position of our People's Republic is becoming even stronger.

The decree also expresses our solicitude for rehabilitating citizens who have committed punishable offenses and helping them to take an active part in political, economic, and social life to the benefit of the homeland. Such a decree is possible because our society has every opportunity to accomplish this process and because our state, representing the power of the people under the party's farsighted leadership, has achieved transformations in every field and has unshakably secured its foundations. Only a state such as ours, stable and consolidated, with a sound body politic and an effective administration, can take such measures. Enver Hoxha summed up this incontestable truth: "Our state is indomitable, because the party and the people guard it with vigilance and in steel-like unity."

Socialist humanism in our country is a principle anchored in our penal legislation. It is manifested in all the work of the organs of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because everything is done with and for the people. "The policy of our party and state for economic development," Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses, "is led by the noble aim of providing for the people's increasing needs and their cultural and spiritual improvement, and of creating the best conditions for a full life in every respect." Our society, which is a dynamic and coherent community characterized by a healthy political and ideological unity, can take measures such as this extensive amnesty, because it is built on the harmony of the interests of its various strata; the alliance of the workers class with our cooperativist peasantry, and the common communist ideal for which our people work and fight.

Facts such as the following testify to our socialist humanism: "All persons under 18 years on 20 November 1989 are pardoned." "All women sentenced to deprivation of freedom of up to 15 years, those with milder sentences, and those with conditional sentences, are pardoned." Here, once again, there is an evident concern that young people of between 14 and 18 years should be reeducated among workers and cooperativists in the bosom of our society, and a concern for the reeducation of women, so that they may devote their energies to the service of our new society.

Such measures help to further strengthen our socialist order. It is not at all by chance that this extensive amnesty does not include those of greatest social danger, who have laid their hands on socialist property, the firm basis of our people's power, nor those who have laid their hands on citizens' possessions, because no threat to the standards and principles which concern the essential issues of the life of our society can be tolerated.

Of course, this extensive amnesty needs first of all to be considered by those who gain from it, their families, and their relations. It is up to these people themselves to realize that our society gives them the chance to correct themselves, to become worthy citizens, and to purge their guilt through honest labor within the bosom of society. However, such measures also set tasks for state organs, Democratic Front bodies, and other mass organizations, who must show care for these people, allocating them positions on the labor front where they can contribute the most, and coordinating efforts to secure the necessary living conditions for them. State organs in town districts and villages are particularly faced with the task of organizing educational labor, so that these people can create relationships at work and in society and can always be given a helping hand in returning to the right road and expending their sweat for the homeland's benefit.

Our people, as they learn of this measure of the people's state, become aware once again of our care for the individual, set themselves higher goals, and redouble their efforts in honest labor, so that our homeland will grow stronger and our lives more prosperous.

Leaders' Public Appearances 11-17 Nov

AU1811142989

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 11 to 17 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, and Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo members; and Llambi Gegprifti and Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a geological conference in Tirana on 11 November. (1900 GMT 11 November)

Foto Cami, Rita Marko, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended the funeral of author Fatmir Gjata on 11 November. (1900 GMT 11 November)

Foto Cami, Manush Myftiu, and Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo members; and Pirro Kondi, Llambi Gegprifti, and Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a jubilee meeting in Tirana on the 45th anniversary of Tirana's liberation on 17 November. (1900 GMT 17 November)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, and Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a literary conference in Tirana on 13 November. (1900 GMT 13 November)

Ramiz Alia, AWP CC first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received newly accredited ambassadors on 15 November. (1900 GMT 15 November) Alia received Cuban Minister of Foreign Relations Malmierca on 11 November. (1900 GMT 11 November)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee first secretary, attended celebrations on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Durres on 14 November. (1900 GMT 14 November)

Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended a historical-scientific session on aspects of the National Liberation War and the construction of socialism in Tirana on 17 November. (1900 GMT 17 November) Kondi also attended festivities held to mark the 30th anniversary of the Tirana Circus on 15 November. (1900 GMT 15 November)

Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a literary conference in Tirana on 14 November. (1900 GMT 14 November)

Politburo Views Local Meetings, Protocol Reforms

AU2711204189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] At today's meeting, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo discussed some conclusions from the recent meetings held by municipal aktivs, from meetings of primary party organizations, and from the meetings of labor collectives dealing with the decisions of the BCP recent Central Committee November plenums, which were attended by party leaders and members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee. It was pointed out that in all places these meetings proceeded without passing over the unresolved problems in silence, in an atmosphere of total openness and sincerity, and that the working people expressed their support for the changes under way.

In a critical spirit, the participants in the meetings pointed out that the things required today are not rallies and declarations, but practical work to update and accelerate the restructuring processes.

The meetings and talks held confirm the moral strength and political maturity of the party, its readiness to honorably play its vanguard role in the process of renewing socialism in our country.

The Communists and working people justifiably asked the Central Committee representatives several questions related to economic stabilization, to the strengthening of discipline, to the guarantees for peaceful and creative labor, to the improvement of the domestic market, to the overcoming of distortions in economic and sociopolitical life, and to the strict observance of socialist legality and social justice.

During the meeting concern was expressed over certain actions aimed at taking advantage of the new political atmosphere in our country for the pursuit of selfish goals, to the detriment of the processes of renewal in our social life. The requirement to further rally our socialist society, consolidate the party, and to purge it of people who have compromised it was stressed.

Numerous recommendations and proposals were submitted in connection with the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum.

The Politburo instructed the competent organs and recommended to the government that the questions submitted should be investigated with the necessary attention and that they should be taken into consideration in preparing practical measures for the improvement of the country's socioeconomic situation.

In evaluating the meetings held, the BCP Central Committee Politburo pointed out that regular contacts between party organs and Communists in charge of responsible public tasks should be asserted as a permanent practice and should be considered one of the basic requirements of political work under the new conditions.

The Politburo also discussed a proposal on simplifying certain protocol procedures and ceremonies involving the participation of the party and state leadership. It was decided that from now on the party committees should no longer hang portraits of living leaders in their offices. It was recommended that the BCP Parliamentary Group submit a proposal to the forthcoming National Assembly Session that portraits of living leaders should no longer hang in state institutions and other public places.

In order to reallocate public funds for social welfare purposes, in the first place, it was proposed that one abolish the tradition to date of spending considerable means on preparing meetings with leaders of diplomatic missions in various towns in the country.

Party Leaders Hold More Provincial Meetings

AU2811180189

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 25 November on pages 1 and 6 and on 26 November on page 2 carries reports totalling 4,000 and 600 words respectively on Bulgarian leaders meeting with local party, state, economic, and public leaders and workers' collectives throughout Bulgaria.

The first, 4,000-word report includes dispatches from local correspondents, all under a 24 November dateline, and covers the following meetings:

In Lovech on 24 November Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), held a meeting with the aktiv of Lovech Municipality, and in the afternoon met with workers of the "Balmo" Company. In Pleven on the same day Lukanov met with the local Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism association, who declared their support for the party's policies.

In Burgas Nacho Papazov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with the city's party aktiv, stressing in his speech that "the present complex situation clearly throws light upon the role and importance of every BCP and Komsomol member."

In Varna Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, held a 5-hour meeting with the aktiv of the municipal BCP organization in the Varna festival complex, after which he visited the local "Druzhba" Plant.

In Khaskovo, Mincho Yovchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of industry and technologies, "held meetings with Communists and workers of Khaskovo Oblast," making visits to two plants in Kazanluk, the "Disk Memory Devices" Company in Stara Zagora, and the "Young Guards" Combine in Khaskovo.

In Plovdiv Pantaley Pachov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, met with the Plovdiv Writers' Association.

In Razgrad Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front, addressed the oblast BCP committee and the municipal aktiv, stressing that "first of all the party's authority must be restored."

In Kyustendil Dimitur Stanishev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met the workers of the Condenser-Building Technological Combine.

In Novi Iskur Ivan Stanev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, met with the local party, public, and economic aktiv in a frank and outspoken exchange of views.

In Pazardzhik, Prodan Stoyanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in a 4-hour "conference of the aktiv of the municipal party organization." The report by Nikola Dinkov concludes: "Prior to the meeting with the aktiv of the municipal BCP organization, anonymous persons from unofficial associations invited citizens by telephone to attend a protest rally at the party building. Their action found not even partial support, and no such rally took place."

In Silistra the town's people's deputy, Georgi Dzhagarov, "met with the regional party, economic, and social aktiv." In Blagoevgrad, Deputy Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Pirinski met the workers of the "G. Dimitrov" Plant. Finally, in Stara Zagora, Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, met with the municipal party organization.

The second report in RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 26 November on page 2 contains descriptions of the following three meetings, all datelined 25 November:

In Smolyan correspondent Mikhail Kulishev reports that Stoyan Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with the "municipal party, state, and economic aktiv," during which alarm was voiced that "in Sofia ... certain persons uninformed of the situation in the Rhodopes are attempting to revive the long dead 'Pomak issue.'" The report includes no further details on this.

In Pernik, according to Mariya Todorova's dispatch, Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of Sofia Oblast BCP Committee, "met for more than 4 hours with the aktiv of the municipal party organization" and also spoke with miners from the "Aleksandur Milenov" Mine.

Lastly, under a "Dimitrovgrad, 25 November" dateline, an unidentified oblast correspondent reports that on an unspecified date Mincho Yovchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of industry and technologies, met with representatives of "the independent citizens' committee for solving Dimitrovgrad's ecological problems," who were concerned with "the intolerable ecological situation in the town." Despite this and other measures taken to reassure the population, the correspondent reports: "Today about 400 people gathered in the town center at a rally not permitted by the town authorities. At the rally, in a calm atmosphere, demands were again put forward for fuller information on the town's ecological situation, and the speakers called for vigorous measures to improve the environment."

Leaders Meet With Industrial Workers

AU2211090789 Sofia BTA in English
0057 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—A lot of proposals for overcoming the hitherto existing negative tendencies, for the improvement of the working conditions, the extension of social gains, technical and technological improvement of production and the contemporary university education were made at today's meetings of high-ranking party and state leaders with labor collectives of the industrial sector in the capital and with lecturers and students of the University of Plovdiv. The participants in the meetings gave their support to the course of changes pursued by the new party and state leadership.

At a meeting with Mr Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, the workers of the Crane-Building Plant in Sofia stated that they back up Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, in the innovation which is already under way. The workers and the management of the plant shared problems arising in connection with the financial and currency resources of the plant, the aging of the personnel, the lack of young specialists, etc.

At their meeting with Mr Mincho Yovchev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technology, the workers of the Technological Electric Trucks and Robotrucks Combined Works in Sofia made concrete proposals for a better operational planning, a new system of evaluating labor and for limiting labor fluctuations. Support was given to the course of making a decisive break with outdated methods of management.

The people's confidence must be restored and it depends on the deeds of the new leadership of the BCP and the state—this is the conclusion made after today's meeting of Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, with labor collectives of the Elpromenergo Company.

The country's plan for next year will be made up on the basis of three major principles: strengthening the home market and providing it with sufficient essential commodities, balancing the plan with the budget as a means to fight inflation and limiting the growth of the country's foreign debt, said Mr Grigor Stoichkov, alternate

member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, speaking to workers and specialists of the Electric Engine Shed in Sofia. The participants in the meeting stated problems that create production and social tensions.

Mr Ivan Stanev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, had a meeting with the inhabitants of the Kremikovtsi municipality. A lot of those who took the floor attacked the hitherto prevailing approaches in the personnel and social policy. An opinion was voiced that the Kremikovtsi Combined Works should be oriented to more profitable productions.

In Plovdiv Mr Panteley Pachov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and first secretary of the BCP regional committee, had a meeting with lecturers and students. The conviction was expressed that the ideas Mr Petur Mladenov set forth at the plenum of the CC of the BCP on November 10, 1989 are supported by the greater part of the Bulgarian people. The students and their lecturers stated they are against any reversal to totalitarian power and declared themselves to be for the dismantling of the command-administrative system. One of the concrete measures for guaranteeing the new course is the restricting the term of office-holding, an idea suggested at the other meetings, too.

Newspaper Comments on Need for Reform

AU2111135489 Sofia BTA in English
1248 GMT 21 Nov 89

["Discussion About the Country's Situation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—The personnel changes in the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leadership and in the government are only the beginning of the needed reforms—this is the subject of some articles in RABOTNICHESKO DELO today.

The daily runs articles and readers' letters which analyze the situation in the country after the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP plenums in the last ten days. RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes in an editorial that it will run opinions and proposals in relation with the forthcoming analysis of the country's situation which the CC of the BCP has declared that it will make. The need is stressed to discuss in the nearest future a programme for overcoming the consequences and damages done by the administrative and bureaucratic style of management.

Viktor Nenchev from the Information Technologies Institute in Sofia writes in an article that in the future all issues which refer to the country's all round state should not be done at the CC of the BCP but at the National Assembly. The author declares himself against the inertia of the "general enthusiasm" at decisions taken by the supreme bodies of management. He indicates that for years on end the BCP has almost complete monopoly on the country's management and this, regrettably means that it has almost complete monopoly on the responsibility for the problems amassed. According to him the present crisis of the Bulgarian society is mainly a crisis of confidence. Opposing certain statements in the final speech of the new secretary general of the CC of the BCP, delivered on his election on November 10, he stresses that the BCP now should not demand a new credit of confidence but should do its duties to society.

For a long time, Victor Nenchev writes, the BCP leading role consisted in the abnormal ideologization in all spheres of life. A number of real problems were not told, and if they were raised that was considered to be a sabotage. This, according to the author has brought a severe exacerbation of problems related with the unity of the nation, the ecological situation, the determination of the country's development trends. A whole system of special privileges for the party and state apparatus was carefully built and hidden from the eyes of the public and money was fueled for building of residences and villas, for organizing of expensive meetings and assemblies of dubious significance for the country's prestige, both on an international as well as on a home scale, against the background of appeals for economies to be made.

According to V. Nenchev, the greatest shortage of management in Bulgaria is the finding of mechanisms for the fulfillment of the adopted decisions.

In another article Ivan Ivanov writes on behalf of the local organization of the BCP in an enterprise for building mechanization. He declared himself against the practice that cardinal decisions be taken by the supreme bodies of power only, and that all decisions are shown to be the offspring of unanimity. This, according to Ivanov, is one of the reasons for the people being passive and indifferent to politics.

How can we form our own position, whom should we have confidence in, at possible elections if we are not familiar with the political platform, the professional qualities and the culture of a certain highly ranked party or state figure, the author writes

In relation with the need of pluralism in society he calls ungrounded the fear of factions in the BCP.

Scientific Workers Support New Party Policy

AU2111085789 Sofia BTA in English
0744 GMT 21 Nov 89

["Scientists Support Renewal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—The Governing Board of the Union of Scientific Workers, the General Assembly of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Presidiums of the Medical Academy and of the Agricultural Academy held a joint session here today. A declaration was adopted whereby the scientific workers in Bulgaria expressed their unqualified and resolute support to the renewal starting in this country.

"Being an integral part of the Bulgarian people, we will be taking part in this process with reason and conviction so that it could become irreversible," the document says.

"This historic point of time demands a rallying of all constructive forces in our society to overcome the aberrations which have led to the crisis of our economy, politics, ideology and morality. There are numerous reasons for this state of affairs but some of the most important ones include the disregard of the scientific approach to decision-making, ignoring the scientific community and the degraded social status of scientists. All this should be thoroughly analyzed and blame should be candidly apportioned: The scientific community will assume its share of the responsibility.

"Scientific workers support the promotion of democracy and pluralism, the elimination of monopolism in all spheres of public life, the freedom of criticism and the ethics of debate both in science and in society. Coercion should not be admitted against non-conformists and only the force of argumentation should be used.

"The scientific community demands that the strategy of the development of the country and of the state policy be based on an in-depth scientific analysis with the wide-ranging participation of different social strata, that the directions and rates of restructuring take into account this country's real capabilities; that a priority be assigned to environmental problems with an uncompromising attitude to the violations of environmental and health standards.

"The existing legal framework has to be comprehensively reviewed to ensure a high-quality personnel training for science. To this end, a new law on scientific work and higher education should be drafted and passed."

BCP Daily Publishes Views on Needed Changes

AU2211134189 Sofia BTA in English
1252 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—With its numerous features of definitely discursive character, today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO calls for more opinions and positions of specialists and citizens on the problems of the country before the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] plenum.

I expect the party to courageously take the responsibility for all mistakes and failures in the social development and for the historical possibilities that have been missed, wrote Simeon Ilarionov, holder of an M.A. degree in philosophy. In his opinion keeping silent about the truth, no matter how bad it may be, will result in an alienation from the real problems and will influence negatively the personality's system of values. The new approach requires to make a complete break with any demagogy, he said.

The party and the state leadership should come out before the people with an absolutely objective evaluation of the situation in the country and should outline the difficulties which will have to be faced on the way out of the crisis, the author underlined, expressing his view that giving a truthful picture of the real situation the country is in is a question of moral strength. It is much more difficult to find a way out of the present situation, Ilarionov noted.

His recommendation is that the policy should be based on science and that changes should be made at all levels of staff.

Concrete proposals for changes were made by Khristo Petkov, chief specialist at the Academy of Agriculture.

In order to get a new credit on the part of the people, the party needs a purgatorial innovation, he pointed out.

His other ideas are: to eliminate all duplicate units in the administration system; to allow the existence of private property; to evaluate the efficiency and revise the value of the existing laws and decrees issued under them and make laws equally applicable to all citizens. In the field of the economy he recommends to put an end to the endless changes in economic life, to introduce only one tax, to form wages on a realistic basis. Although unemployment is contrary to socialist humanism, there should be unemployment, that is Petkov's opinion. He declared himself to be for the abolition of prohibitions as a means of enriching the bureaucrats of the command-administrative system. Prohibitions should be applied to bureaucracy, indifference, self-willed acts, incorrectness, going beyond one's authority and idling authority away.

Strakhil Gyuviyski, lecturer in the subject "Party Organization" at the party school, dwelt on the question of the interaction between majority and minority in the party as one of the most interesting problems of party life which is up for discussion again.

The domination of the command-administrative system in society and first of all in the party-shaped relations of submission and dependence between the communists which impaired their equality. [sentence as received] This gave rise to passiveness, indifference, conformism and even fear among party members, it is said in the article. It is pointed out that in these circumstances the will of the majority as an expression of power in the party most often coincided with the will of the central authority, of the party leadership.

The author underlined that placing the interaction between majority and minority on a new democratic basis guaranteed by a respective normative basis will make it possible to settle the differences within the party more rapidly and will accelerate its development.

Also in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Yuri Popov commented on the approach that has been made use of by the

Central Statistical Department in reporting on the fulfillment of the plan for scientific-technical and socio-economic development of the country.

The author gave the reasons for making public the whole truth about the situation in the country, no matter how bitter it may be.

He recommended that statistics should turn from an instrument of the command-administrative system into a basic element of social control.

Results of Workers' Polls Published by Daily

AU2211181189 Sofia BTA in English
1325 GMT 22 Nov 89

["Workers' Opinion of the Situation in This Country"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The opinion of the working class in Bulgaria shows the presence of a sharpening social sensibility and symptoms of growing tension; this conclusion was made in a publication in today's TRUD about an opinion poll held with representatives of the working class since 198- [year as received]. The topic of the poll: "The Workers of the Eighties."

The information points out that the results of the annual polls have been sent for use at the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and other bodies, and in May this year the information has been sent also to the Cabinet of Todor Zhivkov. Analyses have been also published in some periodicals and dailies.

The information published today presents and comments only data about the opinion of workers about the situation and the events in the sphere of home policy.

According to the answers to the question which has been set every year: "What goes well in Bulgaria?", the respondents are divided into optimists, pessimists and realists. The comparison and the analysis of the answers shows that in the 1982-1986 period the optimists are about 12-14 per cent, the pessimists—between 6-10 per cent, and the realists—70-80 per cent.

In 1987 the share of pessimists grew two-fold and in 1988 three-fold. At the same time the share of those who have not expressed any opinion has grown from 5-6 per cent to one third of the total number of those polled.

According to the information there are three factors which have most strong influence on the positive or negative extremes of the assessments of the situation: the state of the economy, the living standard, and the negative phenomena in society.

While in 1982, 26 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the national economy is undergoing successful and stable development, in 1986 their share falls to 6 per cent.

The analysis of these opinions show that they are based on the direct impressions of the workers from the enterprises they work in and from the information they receive through the mass media, and on the other hand they have been influenced by the condition of the market.

According to the workers their standard of living shows a tendency of going down or remains at the present level (considered unsatisfactory). In the 1984-1988 period the share of workers who think that their wages are enough to satisfy their personal needs goes down two-fold—from 34 per cent in 1984 to 16 per cent in 1988. At the same time grows the relative part of the workers who categorically consider that their wages are not enough to satisfy their personal needs—from 36 per cent in 1984 to 44 per cent in 1988. Only 7 per cent of those polled in the beginning of 1989 consider that their salaries enable them to cover their family expenses.

Noting the stable tendency of growing differentiation between the families' income, the information pays attention to the fact that the growing of the family income is due not so much to the increase of the wages but mostly to the extra work carried out by the workers in their free time. In 1988, 31 per cent of the polled workers have worked in additional jobs in order to increase their income.

As far as the expectations of the workers about the future of their living standard are concerned, the data reveal a growing pessimism, reads the information.

Very critical are the reactions of the workers toward the negative phenomena in the life of Bulgarian society. Since the beginning of 1989, 65 per cent indicate that they are most disturbed by the abuse of power, 56 per cent by the privileges of some people, 55 per cent by thefts and embezzlement, 54 per cent by pulling strings, 50 per cent by idleness, 48 per cent by bureaucracy, 40 per cent by rudeness in the relations between people, 37 per cent by criminality.

The research of the attitude toward the new organizational mechanisms in the economy—the company organizations, piece work system and the lease system, shows that 42 per cent of the workers prefer to work in a state company under the new conditions; 19.5 in joint companies with foreign participation; 15 per cent in personal companies. The opinions show an obvious desire for preservation of the hitherto social "security" and calmness which are due chiefly to the guaranteed working place and salary, even if they do not bring the expected income.

The poll shows that regardless of the growing critical attitude toward the trade unions, the workers need trade unions, but different from those that they used to be till the present—passive and dependent.

Government Appoints Bokov as Spokesman

AU2211200289 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers appointed Mr Filip Bokov government spokesman.

He was born on June, 1948 in Sofia. He graduated in 1972 from the Institute of International Relations in Moscow.

He has worked as a attache and third secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the Bulgarian Embassy in London, instructor at the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], first deputy director general of SOFIA PRESS AGENCY, and head of a department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Human Rights Committee Views Environment Bill

AU2211202489 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 22 Nov 89

["The Environment Protection Law Is Still Not Ready"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The draft law on environment protection and regeneration should be elaborated further. This is the opinion of scholars, jurists, journalists [passage indistinct] today in the discussion, organized by the Human Rights Committee.

Our committee demands that the National Assembly should immediately adopt a law which will enable us, as a European nation, to live in compliance with the ecological requirements, Mr Konstantin Tellalov, chairman of the committee stressed.

The preparation of a law on environment protection is a difficult problem as the scholars have not yet specified what exactly is most harmful and dangerous for man. We will recall the case with the DDT [dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane] preparation: Its founders got at the time the Nobel Prize. And years had to pass before it became clear how harmful it is for the people. That is why, according to Prof Vladimir Sharov, the law should be flexible with possibility for large-scale action. It should even reflect ecological problems which are to develop in future. His firm conviction is that this law should stimulate the individual citizen to keep nature clean.

In some of the statements a demand was expressed to empower the public organizations and individual citizens to seek responsibility from those guilty for a certain violation and to be able to set claims before a court.

Peace Committee Supports Restructuring Policy

AU2211202689 Sofia BTA in English
1837 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The National Peace Committee and the thousands of peace champions have circulated a declaration expressing their most ardent support for the new line of radical restructuring of life in this country.

By opening up vistas to democratization and openness, by entirely freeing the country's socialist transformation of the administrative and bureaucratic system, the resolutions of the November 1989 plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the National Assembly session provide prerequisites for a fresh contribution by our people to the universal human values and civilisation, the declaration says.

In the spirit of everything that is going on in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, which is consistent with the new approaches in international relations, the policy towards genuine restructuring opens up fresh opportunities for manifestations of the public and its organizations and movements, including the national peace movement, in this country, the document goes on to say.

In the new conditions of pluralism, the various social and professional interests and views will find an opportunity for full-fledged exercise, implementing in reality the people's will for life, freedom, government by the people, peace and progress.

In conclusion the declaration says that the National Peace Committee will invest redoubled efforts in fulfilling the tasks which the new situation in the world and the policy line of socialist renewal sets to the Bulgarian peace movement.

Komsomol Resolution Supports Changes

AU2311090089 Sofia BTA in English
2348 GMT 22 Nov 89

["Resolutions of the Plenum of the CC of Komsomol"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—The plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the Dimitrov's Young Communists League—Komsomol—firmly supported the course of renewal of the whole society and assessed as ungrounded the proposal made before the December 1988 Plenum of the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] to change the name of Komsomol.

The plenum considers necessary in future, too, to carry the name of Georgi Dimitrov.

The adopted resolutions expresses the Komsomol readiness to participate in the founding of a students union in

the country. The issues regarding its character, functions, structure and name should be solved by means of democracy.

The CC of the Dimitrov's Young Communist League stands for cooperation on an equal basis with all youth groups and organizations whose activity does not contradict with the laws, principles and norms of socialism.

The issue was raised for opening of all archive funds of Komsomol and making an all-round review of the history of the youth revolutionary movement, for the political rehabilitation of repressed youth figures.

Resolutions were voted. One of them insisted upon the removal of an order by the Ministry of National Education from 1985, regulating the school life from non-democratic positions and impeding humanization of education.

It is also insisted that efficient measures be taken for the solution of pending social problems of students, for the further democratization of higher education.

Politburo Member Lukanov Discusses Session

AU2111132389 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Nov 89 p 9

[Interview with Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, Central Committee secretary, and State Council member, by NARODNA MLADEZH reporter; date and place not given: "Government Becomes Government"]

[Text] [NARODNA MLADEZH] Could you summarize your impressions of the National Assembly session?

[Lukanov] Now we are beginning something new and real. We all have a sense of great satisfaction and historic responsibility. When we talk about real democracy and a law-governed state, we are no longer playing with empty words. We believe in what we say and know that the people are requiring and expecting this from us.

[NARODNA MLADEZH] What do you think are the most urgent and important tasks for the new Bulgarian Government?

[Lukanov] Turning the government into a government, the parliament into a parliament, and the party into a vanguard political force, rather than an institution placed above everything and everyone—this is one of the most essential changes that we must effect. Today the government itself will determine its tasks and not the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Those tasks must be approved by the National Assembly. The Central Committee will deal with issues of the party's economic and social policy—the line that the party, as a political force, is striving to implement through its representatives in the National Assembly and the government. This is a decisive step toward a really law-governed society and state.

I think that the domestic market and its stabilization is one of the basic tasks that the government must solve first. I do not say saturating the market with goods, because we must be realists—this will not be easily accomplished. We must invest many efforts and overcome many subjective and objective obstacles. The strain on the country's material balances is the main objective obstacle. Nevertheless, we must do everything possible in anything related to legislation, economic policy, stimuli, tightening discipline and responsibility of economic cadres, releasing all production forms to better satisfy the market with goods and services, and overcoming the existing deficit, which used to grow until now.

Financial stabilization is the second exceptionally important task, related to the first. We shall speak about it at the next National Assembly session. Now the government is analyzing the financial situation, but it is hardly a secret for anyone that our financial balances have been neglected as a result of an economic policy that did not sufficiently take realities into consideration.

Normalizing the state of the country's payments balances and developing exports is another very important task. I do not hesitate to say that the slogan "export or perish," coined in the past by a French president, fully applies to us. Sometimes we see things in a rather simplistic manner and view export in a certain selfish and even hostile manner. We must understand that we cannot be a prospering state without producing for export and without maintaining serious presence in all basic world markets, and I do not mean the socialist markets only. Therefore, I would point out the foreign trade tasks as the third basic priority in anything related to stabilizing the country's payments balance and developing an export offensive. Naturally, this cannot be immediately accomplished, or even within one year, however, we have the possibilities. What remains is to create the necessary macroeconomic conditions and stimuli.

[NARODNA MLADEZH] What guarantees are there for the real character of restructuring?

[Lukanov] The guarantees are in the fact that the BCP Central Committee firmly supports the new course, and the National Assembly, with enthusiasm unprecedented in many years, approved the new factors in our sociopolitical life. However, in the long run those guarantees are insufficient. Our basic task is to create constitutional and legislative guarantees within a brief period of time. This must be done so that no recurrence of past practice will be possible, and in order to turn any reversal into a constitutional crime rather than a political mistake.

Reasons for Zhivkov Resignation Cited

AU2011160689 Vienna PROFIL in German 20 Nov 89 pp 48-50

[Report by Michael Mattuschka: "From the Black Sea to the Dead Sea"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] After the Politburo session on Friday [10 November], the Central Committee elected Petur Mladenov, who had been foreign minister, as successor to the longest serving East Bloc party leader. The next day, Zhivkov allegedly packed his suitcases, left his residence in Sofia and withdrew to his private villa in Boyana, a residential area near Sofia.

Zhivkov's removal was allegedly prompted by his proposal to make his right- hand man, Nikola Stefanov, a member of the Politburo and to make his son Vladimir (who is secretly called "Vladimir the idiot" despite the fact that his father appointed him to the position of university professor) Central Committee secretary. The Politburo was opposed to the "Ceausescu syndrome," the dictatorship of a family clan. Vladimir Zhivkov was excluded from the Central Committee last week.

According to well-informed circles in Sofia, Zhivkov offered his resignation when he met with resistance in the Politburo. Then Zhivkov's "logical" successor, Georgi Atanasov, who, as prime minister, was the second man in the state, was suggested as Zhivkov's successor. Atanasov, for his part, declined the offer and suggested Petur Mladenov. After some initial hesitation, Mladenov accepted the post. [passage omitted]

The persecution of the Turkish minority also seems to have played a decisive role in the fall of party leader Todor Zhivkov. After the first bloody protest demonstration by the Turks on 29 May this year Zhivkov permitted the ethnic Turks to emigrate. Until 22 August, the day on which Turkey closed its border to Bulgarian Turks, 310,000 ethnic Turks emigrated to the land of their fathers—nearly one-third of the total Turkish population in Bulgaria, which is estimated at over 1 million (out of a total population of 9 million).

Those who emigrated represented over 5 percent of the Bulgarian work force; in towns like Ruse and Razgrad even one-fifth or one-fourth. As a result, production declined drastically. This was already noticeable in this year's harvest, and the lines in front of the shops have become longer. Mladenov is expected to put an end to the harassment of the Turks.

On Monday [13 November], 3 days after he had assumed office, Mladenov announced the rehabilitation of the so-called "Ruse Group." Those who were party members were reinstated in the party and allowed to return to their work places. [passage omitted]

Altogether, there are a dozen opposition groups that act independently of each other. At the beginning of November, 10,000 citizens from Sofia demonstrated in front of the parliament against the government's environmental policy in the largest rally since the war. [passage omitted]

So far, none of the alternative groups has a printed information bulletin, an assembly room, a desk, or a telephone. They can only meet in Sofia's southern park—just like in Ray Bradbury's utopian novel "Fahrenheit 451." In Sofia, only two tiny papers are being published, "Glas" ("The Voice") by Vladimir Levchev, and Edvin Sugarev's "Almanac for Experimental Poetry."

These are folded letter-size sheets (on paper that they receive from friends from abroad), computer printouts that are copied at reduced scale "in order to get as much as possible on one page." They have a circulation of 40-60 copies and are passed from hand to hand. At the beginning of November, Sugarev and Levchev received fines of 500 leva, which is about twice the monthly salary of a physician.

Even the official magazine "Society and Law" was censored by the Supreme Court last week. Edition number 8, which had already been distributed, was impounded again. Prominent officials allegedly disliked an article that raised the question why there were only 101 millionaires in Sofia during World War II whereas there were 1,562 in 1987. "How can one become a millionaire in Bulgaria through honest work," the magazine asked (the official exchange rate is 1 lev for 1 dollar). [passage omitted]

People waiting in front of shops in Sofia are telling a story that happened to actor Petur Slabakov. He collected signatures for Ecoglasnost in front of the "Cafe Cristal" in the center of the capital. Suddenly the militia arrived, drew batons, and beat up Slabakov. The large audience enthusiastically applauded the star. The passers-by believed that a fascist attacker was being shot. When he was dragged away, Slabakov shouted: "Help, help, this is not a film!"

On the night of 7 November, the front door of writer Blaga Dmitrova's apartment was "marked" with a huge white oil-colored blot. "Things like that happened to the Jews during the Nazi era," she stated when she removed the paint. The next night it was there again. However, the writer has not lost heart: "Now we are no longer alone, now it is easer for us to bear this."

There is a glimmer of hope on the horizon: The new party (and since 17 November also state) leader Petur Mladenov has held talks with Bulgaria's leading intellectuals, including several opposition members. After the meeting, journalist Stefan Prodov stated: "He does not tell us what to do; he asks us what we think." [passage omitted]

Biography of New Politburo Member Lukanov

AU1711175589 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Andrey Karlov Lukanov, Politburo Member of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov was born to the family of revolutionaries in Moscow, USSR, on September 26, 1938. He joined the Dimitrov

Young Communist League in 1957 and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1966. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. Staff member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1963. Head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Trade since 1966. Staff member of the Permanent Mission of Bulgaria to the UN Office at Geneva, 1969-1972. Deputy minister (since 1972) and first deputy minister of foreign trade (since 1973). Deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation with the Council of Ministers since 1976. Permanent representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow. First deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (June 1986-August 1987) and then minister of foreign economic relations.

At the Eleventh BCP Congress he was elected alternate member and at the December 1977 Plenum of the Central Committee he was elected full member of the BCP Central Committee. The Twelfth and the Thirteenth BCP Congresses elected him Central Committee member. Alternate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee since July 1979.

Elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

Biography of Candidate Politburo Member Stanishev

AU1711180389 Sofia BTA in English
0816 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Dimitur Yakov Stanishev, Alternate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Mr Dimitur Stanishev was born in the village of Shtuka, near Struma, on May 11, 1924.

He joined the Workers Youth Union (RMS) in 1940 and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1949. He took an active part in the youth anti-fascist resistance. In March 1944 he joined the Chavdar partisan unit. He graduated from the Moscow State University Faculty of History in 1951 and completed there his post-graduate work on fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in 1954. Lecturer and head of department at the Higher Party School with the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP since 1955. Later on he was associate professor at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management with the CC of the BCP. Staff member of the CC of the BCP, 1965-1974. Minister plenipotentiary at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Moscow since 1974. Representative of the CC of the BCP at the Editorial Office of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW magazine since 1975. Later on he has been head of the Foreign Policy and International Contacts Department of the CC of the BCP.

He has been member of the BCP Central Committee since the Eleventh BCP Congress. In May 1977 he was elected member of the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP. Since the December 1977 Plenum of the CC of the BCP he has been secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

He has been elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

Biography of Politburo Member Papazov

AU1711180789 Sofia BTA in English
0840 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Nacho Petrov Papazov, Politburo Member and Secretary of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—Mr Nacho Papazov was born in the village of Gramatikovo, Burgas Region, on March 25, 1921. He holds a university degree in law.

He joined the Workers Youth Union (RMS) in 1935 and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1941. An active participant in the anti-fascist resistance. Member of the underground RMS city and district committees in Burgas. During his university years in Bratislava he was a leading activist of the Bulgarian General People's Students Union (BONS) and founder of the clandestine newspaper "Antifascist."

He filled positions of public, state and party responsibility after September 9, 1944. Chairman of the BONS central leadership, head of the Students' Department and member of the CC [Central Committee] of the RMS and of the CC of the SNM (People's Youth Union), first secretary of the BCP Eighth Borough Committee in Sofia, secretary and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee. Minister of national education and culture since 1957. Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Japan, 1967-1971. Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress and Higher Education, 1971-1984. Chairman of the Nationwide Committee for Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship since November 1977. Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1984-1986.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Sixth BCP Congress and full Central Committee member at the Seventh through the Thirteenth Congresses of the BCP. Member of the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP, 1977-1981. Elected chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission at the Thirteenth BCP Congress.

Elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Second, the Third, the Fourth, the Fifth, the Sixth, the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

Biography of Politburo Candidate Member Stanev

AU1711181589 Sofia BTA in English
0837 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Ivan Stanev Nikolov, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—Mr Ivan Stanev was born to a poor family in the village of Dushantsi near Sofia on September 28, 1932. He has graduated from a plant training centre and from a one-year party school at the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

He joined the Workers Youth Union (RMS) in 1947 and the BCP in 1952.

During his school years he was member of the RMS Bureau and secretary of the Komsomol Cell Bureau. Upon his graduation from school he worked as a turner at Plant 11 in Sopot. He was secretary of the BCP primary organisation in his native village. He worked as a mechanic at the State Automobile Transport Enterprise in Sofia and as a builder at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works.

Foreman of a builders work team at the Kremikovtsi Iron and Steel Works since 1961. An experienced worker and outstanding achiever in meeting production targets and in personnel training. Has submitted a number of rationalizing suggestions of great economic efficiency. Holder of the honorary title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

Member of the Bureau of the BCP Sofia City Committee since 1981.

Elected member of the BCP Central Committee at the Twelfth and the Thirteenth BCP Congresses.

Biography of New BCP CC Secretary Stoyanov

AU1711181889 Sofia BTA in English
1341 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Prodan Toshev Stoyanov, Secretary of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Mr Prodan Stoyanov was born in Botevgrad, Sofia Region, on November 1, 1936. He comes from a workers family background. Doctor of Sciences (Pedagogics). Professor.

He joined the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) in 1950 and the [BCP] Bulgarian Communist Party in 1960. He graduated in pedagogy from the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia in 1959. A long-serving youth activist. He worked as an instructor at the DYCL Central Committee, first secretary of the DYCL Lenin Borough Committee and secretary of the DYCL Sofia City Committee. Head of the Young Pioneers Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the DYCL since 195. [year as received] Later on member of the Bureau of the CC of the DYCL. He has filled high-ranking party and state posts since 1972. He was deputy head and head of the Science and Education Department of the CC of the BCP. First deputy minister of national education, 1978-1979. Head of the Secretarial Department of the CC of the BCP since December 1979.

Elected member of the BCP Central Committee at the December 1977 Plenum of the Central Committee and at all subsequent party congresses.

Elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly. Deputy chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee on the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights.

Biography of New Politburo Member Pachov

AU1711181989 Sofia BTA in English
0825 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Pantaley Lazarov Pachov, Politburo Member of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Mr Panteley Pachov was born in Asenovgrad, Plovdiv Region, on February 24, 1939.

He comes from a revolutionary and workers family background. His father, a party activist, was executed in 1942.

He joined the Dimitrov Young Communist League [DYCL] in 1953 and the BCP in October 1964.

He started work in 1958 as a worker at the Balkan Plant in Plovdiv.

He graduated in semiconductor technology engineering from the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys.

In 1964 he returned to the Balkan Plant to work as a senior technologist and chief technologist. Chief technologist and later on deputy manager of the Typewriters Plant since 1966. Secretary of the BCP primary organisation, member of the Bureau of the DYCL city committee.

Instructor at the BCP County Committee in Plovdiv since 1977, and later on secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Plovdiv. Elected secretary of the BCP county committee in March 1981. First secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Plovdiv since January 1984. First secretary of the BCP Regional Committee in Plovdiv since December 1987.

He was elected alternate member of the BCP Central Committee at the Twelfth BCP Congress and full Central Committee member at the Thirteenth Congress.

He has been elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Ninth National Assembly.

Biography of New Politburo Member Yovchev

AU1711210989 Sofia BTA in English
1352 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Mincho Smilov Yovchev, Politburo Member of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Mr Mincho Yovchev was born to a progressive white-collar workers family in the town of Muglizh near Stara Zagora on February 27, 1942. He holds a university degree in metals engineering.

He joined the Dimitrov Young Communist League in 1955 and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in January 1968. He graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Mining in 1966. He started work as a technologist engineer in the Friedrich Engels Combined Works in 1967. Later on he was head of the metallurgy department with the Khidravlika Mechanical Engineering Works. Deputy manager of the Hydraulics and Pneumatics Combined Economic Enterprise in Kazanluk since 1969. He was promoted to deputy general manager of the Hydraulics State Economic Corporation in 1971. In 1975 he became head of the Economic Department of the BCP town committee. First deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the County People's Council in Stara Zagora, 1978-1980. First secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in Kazanluk and member of the bureau of the BCP County Committee since February 1980. Elected first secretary of the BCP County Committee in Stara Zagora in March 1984. First secretary of the BCP Regional Committee in Khaskovo since December 1987.

He was elected alternate member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP at the Twelfth BCP Congress and member of the CC of the BCP at the Thirteenth BCP Congress.

He has been elected national representative (member of parliament) in the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

Albanian Revolution Anniversary Celebrated

AU2711201189 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—The public in Sofia today marked the 45th anniversary of socialist Albania with a ceremonious meeting.

Mr Ivan Prumov, chairman of the Bulgaro-Albanian Friendship Society, spoke about the radical changes that have been brought about in that country over the years. The report pointed out the most typical features of Albania's foreign policy are a consistent, open, independent policy based on the principles of equality, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr Bashkim Rama, ambassador of Albania to Bulgaria, underlined that the steps taken by the two countries to promote their cooperation correspond to the interests of the Albanian and the Bulgarian people, peace and cooperation in the Balkans.

An exhibition of photographs illustrating Albania's achievements on the road of socialism opened here.

Mladenov Meets Leaders of Diplomatic Missions

AU2211194589 Sofia BTA in English
1827 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a meeting was held between Mr Petur Mladenov, State Council president, with the leaders of the diplomatic missions, accredited to this country.

Mr Petur Mladenov thanked the diplomats for their cooperation in the fulfillment of his tasks as a foreign affairs minister. I assess highly your activities in the years when we worked together, which you developed to strengthen relations of cooperation, understanding and friendship between Bulgaria and your countries, between the Bulgarian people and your peoples, he said.

Dwelling on Bulgaria's future foreign policy, the State Council president stressed that it will be peaceful, a policy of development of friendship and cooperation with all Balkan states and peoples, a policy of understanding on the basis of mutual benefit, a policy of opening of Bulgaria towards the world. We are willing to have relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries and peoples, he said.

Deep changes are taking place in Bulgaria and they are supported by our people, Mr Petur Mladenov said. We believe that these changes were needed, that they are necessary and useful both for the country and the people, as well as for the development of our relations with all countries and people in the world.

The doyen of the diplomatic corps Mr Egon Rommel, ambassador of the GDR, greeted most cordially Mr Petur Mladenov for being elected State Council president, on behalf of all heads of diplomatic missions to this country. Mr Rommel hailed the firm intention expressed by the Bulgarian state leader that our country will continue to follow in future, too, its peaceful and constructive policy of international cooperation. He gave assurances that the diplomats accredited to Sofia will contribute to the further development of relations with Bulgaria.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister, addressed the leaders of the diplomatic missions.

Urbanek Concludes 26 Nov CPCZ CC Session

AU2911160589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "Preparing for the Extraordinary Congress; Apropos Sunday's CPCZ Central Committee Session"]

[Excerpts] Prague—As we reported yesterday, another extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee session was held on Sunday [26 November] evening. This session dealt with the issue of convening an extraordinary party congress and with some other cadre changes. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee has adopted the following resolution:

1. It approves the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report delivered by Karel Urbanek, Central Committee general secretary. As far as the recommendation to recall the CSSR interior minister and the Czech Socialist Republic minister of the interior and living environment from their posts is concerned, the Central Committee proposes—after statements were made by both ministers at the Central Committee session—that a conclusion to this issue be brought about on the basis of an inquiry into the matter by a parliamentary commission with the participation of students' representatives.

2. It empowers the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to operatively discuss essential cadre issues between Central Committee sessions.

3. It has made note of a report on the dialogue with representatives of OBRODA—A Club for Socialist Revival and Civic Forum, with the proviso that the dialogue will continue.

4. The CPCZ Central Committee appeals to all employees, especially to Communists in the mass information media, to truthfully and objectively report the points of view of working collectives and citizens from all spheres of social life.

The CPCZ Central Committee has also adopted a resolution to convene an extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress. The resolution states:

According to Article 30 of the party statutes, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee decided at its extraordinary session on 26 November 1989 to convene an extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress on 26 January 1990. The congress will have the following agenda:
1. To discuss the actual situation and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's tasks prior to its 18th congress.
2. To adopt an Action Program—For the Acceleration of Restructuring and the Development of Democracy and Socialism.
3. To elect the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission.

According to its statutes, the CPCZ Central Committee resolves that one delegate with a full vote will be elected for every 1,000 party members and that one delegate with an advisory vote will be elected for every 5,000 candidate members in the CPCZ membership. At the same time, the Central Committee has laid down the following organizational method for electing delegates to the CPCZ extraordinary congress.

Delegates elected at the primary organizations' annual members' meetings will meet at extraordinary district conferences, which will take place on 17 December 1989, and will elect delegates to the extraordinary regional and municipal conferences in Prague and Bratislava.

Delegates elected at district and municipal district conferences in Prague and Bratislava will meet at extraordinary regional and municipal conferences in Prague and Bratislava, which will take place before 7 January 1990, and will elect delegates to the CPCZ extraordinary congress.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee appeals to primary organizations, to all Communists, and to fellow citizens and urges them to contribute via their suggestions, points of view, and concrete deeds to solving the current problems that affect our society's development.

CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members expressed their points of view on the current situation in a comprehensive discussion and fully supported the steps taken toward social dialogue as well as the proposal to convene an extraordinary CPCZ Congress.

At the end of the session, Comrade Karel Urbanek thanked the Central Committee for its active work and for its support for the proposal to change the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's constitution. He also thanked Comrades Lenart, Zavadil, Hajn, and the others who have worked in senior party posts for many years.

He discussed the session's other significant decision—to convene an extraordinary CPCZ Congress on 26 January 1990. He emphasized that a particularly important task is to guarantee a responsible selection of delegates to this congress.

Once more we have spoken about the gravity of the situation, continued Comrade Urbanek. In this connection, he highlighted the fact that the last extraordinary CPCZ Central Committee session unequivocally expressed a point of view that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is in favor of a political resolution to the situation. No one can accuse us of not being in favor of dialogue. He commented that, in harmony with the CPCZ Central Committee's conclusions and the Federal Government's extraordinary session, negotiations have been initiated with the political parties, with OBRODA—Club for Socialist Revival, and with representatives of the Civic Forum.

He further emphasized that for the Presidium and for him personally, even during this complicated situation, it is an indisputable incentive that a number of party organizations, organs, and working collectives have expressed their support for the party leadership. By our work we will endeavor, said Comrade Karel Urbanek in conclusion, to gain the confidence of all Communists, the whole party, and our fellow citizens.

The CPCZ Central Committee session ended with the Internationale.

Urbanek Speaks at National-Level CPCZ Meeting

LD2811195889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Topical tasks of the party in the current complex internal political situation are the subject of a national-level Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] meeting which has begun this evening in the Palace of Culture in Prague.

The opening speech is being made by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the party Central Committee.

Propaganda Chief Comments

LD2811222289 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek is to pay a visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of December, at the invitation of Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

This is the first information which was given to Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on today's opening of a Press Centre of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague by deputy head of the party Central Committee Department of Propaganda Josef Hora who had been authorized by the party Presidium to hold the position of a press spokesman.

Speaking about a nation-wide party meeting held in the evening in Prague, he said that participants should exchange views on preparations on an extraordinary party congress. In this context, Hora pointed out that suggestions are coming from basic party organizations demanding that the calling of the congress be speeded up.

Hora said that it is highly important that a balanced program of action be prepared. He stressed that the task of the extraordinary congress will be not only the creation of a competent and active Central Committee of the party but also the determination of its realistic and competent program of action.

Vasil Mohorita Addresses News Conference

LD2911131189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] This morning newsmen met with Vasil Mohorita at a news conference in the Palace of Culture in Prague.

At the international news conference, Vasil Mohorita answered questions first and foremost as a member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee. This means that he answered the questions concerning the future of this party, which is still the largest party in our society.

He said that despite the fact that the party has lost its monopoly position, within the framework of democracy it will use its right, express its views and stances on events in the state—the right to represent the interest of people, while proceeding from the objective situation, of course.

The fact is that the CPCZ at present is trailing behind events. Only when it has fully coped with this handicap will it be able to take up clear stances with a view of things. This in fact also answers the question whether the CPCZ will be disbanded in the foreseeable future.

It was asked when Gustav Husak, President of the Republic, will resign, who will be most hit by the expected stagnation of the living standards in our country, why the television and Czechoslovak radio were unable to transmit yesterday's statewide party aktiv here in the Palace of Culture, whether and when will free and democratic elections take place what will be the CPCZ's representation in the Federal Government which is being formed and so on.

Civic Forum Establishes Slovak Sister Group

AU2811161189 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 24 Nov 89 p 3

["kk"-signed item in the "Reactions, Views, Responses" column on events in the CSSR]

[Text]

About the General Strike

The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial office has received the following Civic Forum proclamation: The general strike called on 27 November 1989 is a political protest strike and does not pursue other objectives. To ensure that the strike does not cause material or other losses, we recommend the following procedure: 1. The strike will be called and directed by a strike committee of an enterprise, office, or other institution. 2. The beginning of the general strike will be simultaneous: on 27 November at 1200. 3. The length of the strike will be determined by the strike committee; according to the nature of the activity in offices and institutions. It will last until 1400 at the longest. 4. The beginning of the strike will be announced in a suitable manner by the strike committee. 5. In the health services, in public

transportation, and in services which ensure the needs of villages, cities, and enterprises, we recommend calling a general strike, and if conditions so demand, not interrupting work, but manifesting the strike in a suitable manner. 6. Enterprises' strike committees should provide information about preparations, the beginning, and the course of the strike to the Civic Forum's nationwide coordination strike committee. In an enterprise in which a strike committee has not been set up, employees can join the strike in a manner that they themselves chose.

The Address: Laterna Magika

Representatives of the Civic Forum announce that from various parts of the Republic they are receiving information about civic forums being established in enterprises and in places where they live. They call on their representatives to get in touch with the coordination committee of the Civic Forum, whose current headquarters is at the Laterna Magica [a theater in Prague], 31 Jungmannova Street, telephone 26 67 65.

Representatives of political parties, social organizations, and independent initiatives in Brno have also identified themselves with the objectives and demands put forward by the spontaneously established open association named Civic Forum. The directing group of the Civic Forum in Brno, which is connected with this year's discussion gathering of the Brno Forum, strives to convene a broader aktiv of the Brno public on the current events in our country and to prepare talks with the city's bodies. The Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] is represented by Brother L. Motycka, candidate of the CSL Central Committee and chairman of the CSL City Committee.

"The Civic Forum is a 4-day-old baby, and despite that, in this brief span of time it has clearly showed itself to be the spokesman for the national will," Vaclav Havel said at the news conference of the Civic Forum on the stage of the Laterna Magica yesterday [23 November]. His words are affirmed by some 500 resolutions from enterprises throughout the Republic. Asked how his talks with Premier L. Adamec went yesterday, V. Havel replied with two words: "No comment." He noted that insufficient information has been provided to the countryside, a situation that has arisen because of the reduced number of newscasts. The Civic Forum provided information about the latest initiative called "Public Against Violence," which A. Dubcek endorsed in his speech yesterday, and which is to be the Civic Forum's partner in Slovakia. "We are ready at all times to hold talks with government representatives; our experts are at disposal anytime," J. Gabal concluded the optimistic news conference.

RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Havel's Demands

AU2811085589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 89 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar commentary from "A Note" column: "The Sole Representative?"]

[Text] According to a SVOBODNE SLOVO report, Vaclav Havel, in his speech in Wenceslas Square on Thursday [23 November], said that the Civic Forum, which came into being at the beginning of this week out of various opposition groups, "is the de facto sole representative of a single [jedina] will." I venture to doubt it. What sort of single will? What right does he have to speak on behalf of hundreds and thousands of working people, who are sending their standpoints, are calling for calm, and opposing the general strike, which can only cause economic losses? Does he, perhaps, feel that he is the master of this country already? Has he written off all proponents of socialism in our country? He says he accepts the proposals of these or those economists on how to lead our country out of the existing system to "democracy, freedom, pluralism." Thus far, it has not been said what sort of democracy and freedom is involved.

There is a reason for this. The rights demanded by Havel, will also mean the facilitation of the exploitation of people by other people, a matter which will curtail the other rights he proclaims. It means that tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or in a year's time, not only the former owners of factories, banks, movie studios, and their progeny will return, but also the Mannesmanns, the successors of the owners of the Sellier and Bellot company, and then, perhaps, even the Sudeten Germans.

Do the majority of the people in our country agree with this? Hardly. On behalf of what "single will" and what "de facto sole representatives" does Vaclav Havel speak then?

Havel Interviewed on Government, Opposition

AU2711161389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Nov 89 pp 169-71

[Interview with CSSR playwright Vaclav Havel by Martin Pollack and Dieter Wild; date and place not given: "The Masks Are Falling Now"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Havel, the demonstrators in Prague chanted "Jakes to the garbage." Now he has finally ended there.

Havel: He had to fall sooner or later.

DER SPIEGEL: How come that the Germans got rid of their Honecker, the Hungarians their Kadar, and even the Bulgarians their Zhivkov earlier than the Czechs and Slovaks got rid of their leadership?

Havel: In no other country was the government installed by an occupying power—only in our country. Our government consisted of people who were publicly branded as traitors in 1968. Thus, they had good reason for expanding the totalitarian structures during their 20 years of rule.

DER SPIEGEL: This also applies to the GDR.

Havel: You may be right. However, here these people systematically demoralized society. They removed hundreds of thousands of freely thinking people from their positions, and also from the Communist Party. They perfected the totalitarian system to such a degree that a revolution against the rulers or even their peaceful elimination became particularly difficult in our country.

DER SPIEGEL: Are there reform-minded forces within the Czechoslovak Communist Party with whom you think you could cooperate?

Havel: Under the conditions of this hard and monolithic dictatorship, all representatives of the state power wore the same masks and used the same phrases. If there were any who preserved their free thinking they hid it behind masks. Their true attitude only became apparent in critical situations when the masks fell.

DER SPIEGEL: What did you see when the masks fell?

Havel: We saw who was who. In 1967 we did not know what difference there was between Bilak and Dubcek. A few months later, this became very clear. Now the time had come again for the masks to fall.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think that cooperation with Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec might be possible? Could he become a Prague Egon Krenz?

Havel: I personally do not maintain contact with representatives of the state power, not to speak of friendly contact. Thus, I cannot know the potential of these people, what they could be like and what they could not be like. I think that there are at least four persons who would like to play the role of Egon Krenz.

DER SPIEGEL: Who are they?

Havel: The situation is so sensitive and so open that I would not help the possible Egon Krenz by indicating his name to DER SPIEGEL.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think Alexander Dubcek or other 1968 leaders could again play a role?

Havel: Most of the old reform-minded communists who were eliminated during the Soviet intervention are working within the independent "Obroda" [renaissance], including former ministers and party officials. Dubcek is more of a symbolic than a real representative. However, these old reform-minded communists are only one force among many.

DER SPIEGEL: Who are the others?

Havel: Tendencies toward reform are becoming apparent everywhere now, among the intelligentsia, among the students, and in the economy.

DER SPIEGEL: Is the "Civic Forum," which was founded a few days ago, designed to unite all these forces?

Havel: If you have any doubts—the past few days have shown that this is possible. Even groups from the official structures are joining the Civic Forum in a spontaneous way.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there agreement among these groups about the goal?

Havel: The Civic Forum comprises a wide spectrum of persons, views, and movements, including reform-minded communists, social democrats, and Christian democrats. However, there is agreement on one thing: We must build a democratic and pluralistic society.

DER SPIEGEL: A return to the Czechoslovak Republic of 1918?

Havel: No, it is not possible to go back. The structures of society and of the entire civilization are different from what they were between the two world wars. A new type of democracy might emerge in the countries of the former Soviet bloc. It will certainly not be a mechanical copy of the classical parliamentary democracy of Western Europe.

DER SPIEGEL: The Civic Forum was confronted with a heavily armed state authority which struggled doggedly for the preservation of its power. What strategy have you pursued?

Havel: We offered those in power a discussion on the future of the country and participation in shaping the transition to a democratic society.

DER SPIEGEL: However, this was precisely what the state authority did not want to hear. Does the Civic Forum have the power to cause it to give in? After all, it mainly consists of intellectuals, while the workers seem to stand aside.

Havel: In our country it has been a tradition since the 19th century that social movements have always been initiated by the intelligentsia. This was the case in 1968, and this time is no different. Despite this, the Civic Forum has long ceased to be a club of intellectuals.

DER SPIEGEL: What else is it?

Havel: Workers of many factories joined it, but also citizens who regard the forum as its representation. Of course, the intellectuals, rather than the workers, will always express themselves. Miners have to work underground, the intellectuals would hardly be capable of this. Thus, everybody has a task of his own.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you still expect something from the old bloc parties, which, like in the GDR, now show first signs of becoming independent of the Communist Party?

Havel: Yes, the old parties are awakening to new life. The Socialist Party and the People's Party are even experiencing a new renaissance. They do not directly belong to the Civic Forum, but they have close contacts with it. The Socialist Party even put its publishing house

in Wenceslas Square at the disposal of our representatives for a public appearance.

DER SPIEGEL: So far, a leading figure, like Pozsgay in Hungary or Walesa in Poland, has not existed in the CSSR. Can you imagine assuming such a role?

Havel: If society regards me as its spokesman, this is not because I feel a calling for it. However, if somebody writes the truth all his life without heeding the consequences, he will inevitably become a political authority in a totalitarian regime, although he does not want to be.

DER SPIEGEL: You do not exactly want this?

Havel: I do not mind that the people force me into such a role. I am prepared and perhaps also able to play it for a short time.

DER SPIEGEL: What does "for a short time" mean?

Havel: In this transitional period symbolical representatives, who are not politicians, but express the hopes of society, are maybe needed. However, I expect a new professional leadership to be established in the near future so that I can return to my actual work, the theater.

DER SPIEGEL: Considering the extent of your political commitment, are you able to write anything at all now?

Havel: No. At present, I do not even have time to write down the calls and resolutions of the Civic Forum. Thus, it is, of course, impossible to write literature.

DER SPIEGEL: From this point of view, does your term of imprisonment not appear less painful to you? For at that time you were able to write.

Havel: Whoever believes that it is really possible to write in prison is wrong. I was only allowed to write a 4-page letter to my wife once a week with the greatest difficulty, while being exposed to much noise, and constant interruption. These letters were later printed in a book in Germany. Despite this, I admit that I would gladly arrange with the interior minister to be free for 3 days per week and to go to prison for 2 days in order to recover from freedom.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Havel, the decline in power which communism is currently undergoing in the East European states could contribute to the failure of Gorbachev's perestroyka in Moscow....

Havel: I do not know Gorbachev personally; thus I cannot say what he expected from his perestroyka. But one thing he knew for sure: If he were to initiate perestroyka in the Soviet Union, this would sooner or later necessarily result in the events that are currently taking place in Eastern Europe.

DER SPIEGEL: The countries that stifled the political spring in the CSSR with their intervention are reformist countries today. On the other hand, the former reformist country CSSR has doggedly stuck to the position of the former interventionists, that is, that it received "fraternal aid." Greater absurdity is hardly possible.

Havel: It is not at all impossible that all states that participated in the intervention at that time will dissociate themselves from it within a few days.

DER SPIEGEL: Hungary and Poland have already done so. The Soviet Union, the GDR, and Bulgaria are still missing.

Havel: Yes, and if this were to happen, the only country still considering the occupation as legitimate would be the country that was occupied at that time—this would be grotesque.

DER SPIEGEL: It has been one of the demands of the Civic Forum that the leading politicians who were responsible for the 1968 intervention should resign: Husak, Jakes, Fojtik, Indra, Hoffmann, Zavadil. Are they now to enjoy their retirement in peace?

Havel: Allegedly, Premier Adamec said that he is against bloody retribution. Apparently, the people who for their whole lives were used to settling accounts with their opponents in a bloody way believe that everybody else thinks like them. They are seized with panic that we want to hang them. When they played cards in the evening and had no time to listen to Radio Free Europe where we were permitted to speak and when they read the secret police reports on us in the morning, they were seized with the fear of bloody retribution.

DER SPIEGEL: Considering the things they did to the country, is this fear not understandable?

Havel: None of my friends think of such a thing. I, personally, will be content if these people continue to live in the luxurious villas they built for themselves, but no longer interfere in the policy of this country.

DER SPIEGEL: Were you also prepared for the possibility of someone giving the order to shoot after all?

Havel: The situation was completely open. We did not know what would happen. We had information according to which the security forces subordinated to the Central Committee were being mobilized. However, it was rather clear that today a violent act by the police and the army would no longer be conceivable in Europe and the world. Thus, I hoped that no blood would be shed. Moreover, the Civic Forum movement in the CSSR would not have been stopped by such a violent act.

National, Local Leaders Meet With Civic Forum

Slovak Vice Premier on Meeting

LD2611210689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Stefan Murin, first Slovak vice premier, met today with representatives of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence Movement in Bratislava. Afterward,

Sona Jesenska asked Stefan Murin, and actor Milan Kniazko, a representative of the movement, to speak.

[Begin recording] [Jesenska] Comrade vice premier, I know you are hurrying to attend today's meeting of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee. Nonetheless, I would like to ask you how satisfied you are with the outcome and the course of today's meeting?

[Murin] I regard the dialogue as useful and think that it will lead to a calming of the entire situation and to seeking such ways out which will be acceptable to our society and our party. I see a real opportunity in the dialogue for exchanging views on existing problems, on the future of our society in all its aspects, and charting ways of overcoming them.

[Jesenska] How would you characterize, from your viewpoint, today's meeting, and could you tell us something about the demands you have advanced?

[Kniazko] We have come to the meeting, above all, in order to hear our government's attitude to two cardinal questions which bother not only us but all our public. We have made our views known on the problem concerning the article enshrining the party's leading role in our constitution and on the formation of a platform for free democratic elections. At present, only promises have been made, and even they have not been very specific; by that I mean that a firm date has not been set. But I hope that this date will be set within a short time, because I feel social tension is increasing, with the desire that these two points are implemented as soon as possible. I would like to add that the coming strike, as we have already said, is not a violent act but an act of solidarity. Those employed in continuous processes should take part in the strike only in a symbolic manner. This also applies to doctors, transport employees, and supply workers. We do not want to cause any losses. On the contrary, we want to demonstrate that all citizens are really behind this noble idea. [end recording]

Usti nad Labem Mayor Meets Forum

LD2811155189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Josef Kubice, mayor of Usti nad Labem, and Petr Polednak, a representative of the Civic Forum working group in Usti nad Labem, have signed a joint statement on talks between city representatives and those representing the Civic Forum. In order to take the dialogue from the street, representatives of the Civic Forum asked to be provided with a covered area to accommodate at least 1,200 people, and for assistance to enable them to provide public information through the press and radio. They have announced that they will be able to use the sport hall of the Chemicka physical training club this coming Friday from 1500, and that they will discuss rapidly the possibility of them having access to district newspapers and the use of the town's radio station. They have also proposed joint talks about ecological issues, social and health provisions and culture, as well as consultations about capital investment and construction projects proposed to be carried out. The representatives of the National Committee in Usti nad Labem have agreed with this cooperation.

Minister Meets Forum Health Workers

LD2811235889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Report by correspondent Bedrich Talab on meeting between Jaroslav Prokopec, Czech minister of health and social affairs, and representatives of the Prague health workers' branch of the Civic Forum in Prague on 28 November]

[Text] The Prague health workers' branch of the Civic Forum, reprsented at the moment by three doctors, has expressed its reservations about reports from the ministry on the number of demonstrators issued on 17 November, because it is thought that a considerable number of injured people sought hospital treatment without stating the cause of their injuries, or sought treatment at hospitals outside Prague.

In this context, Prof Prokopec said that the public had been kept informed, but the reports, of course, were based only on the information available. He has therefore decided to ask the directors of local hospitals throughout the country to investigate all treatments of injuries on 17 November and in the ensuing days.

During today's meeting, in which the two sides' standpoints did not differ fundamentally, Prof Prokopec called on the Civic Forum to become partners in the executive teams which are currently formulating the ministry's action program which contains proposals on altering the structure of health service facilities and, in a way, the whole health-care system.

The representatives of the Prague health workers' branch of the Civic Forum accepted the offer on condition that their side would be allowed to be involved at expert level and with constructive opposition.

The next joint meeting between the leaders of the Czech Ministry of Health and the Prague health workers' branch of the Civic Forum will take place this Friday [1 December].

Further on Government-Civic Forum Talks

Talk Participants Listed

AU2911143089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 November on page 1 publishes a 700-word Igor Sirota report entitled "Meeting of a CSSR National Front Central Committee and CSSR Government Delegation With Representatives of the Civic Forum." The report, which is covered by previously filed items, includes the complete list of participants in the talks. According to

the report, the National Front and Government delegation, which was led by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec, included Bohuslav Kucera, member of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly; Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee; Miroslava Nemcova, chairwoman of the Czechoslovak Women's Union Central Committee; Miroslav Spaniel, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council; Jindrich Polednik, chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association Central Committee; Marian Calfa, CSSR minister without portfolio; Vladimir Herman, chairman of the South Moravia National Front Regional Committee; Jan Skoda, secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee; Zbynek Vokrouhlicky, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation; and Josef Mecl, dean of the Faculty of Law at Charles University. The Civic Forum delegation, which was led by "writer and playwright Vaclav Havel," further included "Professor Zdenek Jicinsky, expert on constitutional law; Milan Hruska, miner; Vaclav Klaus, economist; Alexandr Vondra, Charter 77 spokesman; Petr Cepek, actor; Vaclav Maly, spokesman for the Civic Forum; Michael Kocab and Michal Horacek, representatives of the "Bridge" initiative; and Martin Mejstrik, representative of the Prague Students' Coordinating Strike Committee."

News Conference on Meeting

AU2811153189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1220 GMT 28 Nov 89

[News conference held after meeting between representatives of the CSSR National Front and Federal Government and representatives of the Civic Forum in Prague on 28 November—live]

[Text] [Miroslav Pavel] A few minutes ago, negotiations between delegations from Civic Forum and the National Front Central Committee came to an end. The members of these delegations were: I would say the Civic Forum had only its head, that was Mr Vaclav Havel. On the other side of the table, the delegation was headed by Premier Ladislav Adamec. The chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Bohuslav Kucera, and Marian Calfa, minister of the Federal Government, were also present. Mr Calfa will inform you about the results of this session.

[Calfa] Please, I would like to ask you right at the beginning to observe normal human behavior so that everyone has a chance to speak and no one is injured [reference to extremely crowded conditions at conference]. The negotiations between the Civic Forum and the National Front and Federal Government delegations began at 1100 and lasted 2 hours with two breaks. The introduction to the negotiations took place in a rather excited atmosphere, especially as opinions were exchanged on the solution to the current situation. Naturally, the approaches to resolving this situation were not identical.

As I said, after an exhaustive exchange of opinions, the National Front and Federal Government delegations approached a constructive agreement and came to the following conclusions. I am going to inform you about those conclusions that the Federal Government can fulfill according to its position enshrined in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Constitution.

The Federal Government premier promised that by 3 December 1989 he will propose that the president of the Republic appoint a new government. It is expected that this will be a government based on a broad coalition in which both nonparty representatives and representatives of other political parties will be represented along with, of course, representatives of the Communist Party. It will be a government constituted primarily of experts and professionals.

Second, the Federal Government will propose that the Federal Assembly make use of its constitutional rights to propose new laws; that is, it will make use of its right to initiate laws and will propose to the Federal Assembly that a change be made to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Constitution, a change to three articles.

First article—removing the provision for the leading role of the party. Second article—removing the provision about the closed character of the National Front and the leading role of the Communist Party within the National Front. Third article—removing the provision that education be based upon the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This concept will be replaced by the concept that education is provided in harmony with scientific knowledge and, at the same time, with the principles of humanity and humanitarism.

Third, the prime minister of the Federal Government promised that he will ask the Prague National Committee to provide the necessary facilities for Civic Forum activities. I would say in conclusion that the original excited atmosphere changed during the negotiations into a constructive atmosphere in a mutual endeavor to find positive ways out of the present political situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Thank you.

[Pavel] I would like to tell you that this statement was very unequivocal and that we have nothing further to add. We will not be answering any questions.

Forum To Ask Students To Stop Strike

LD2811174989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Talks have been held between delegations of the National Front Central Committee, the Federal Government, and the Civic Forum led by Ladislav Adamec and Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Civic Forum then promised to appeal today to students and artists to stop the strike, but strike committees will remain at the ready.

Adamec Briefs Government on Meeting

LD2811183989 Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Adamec briefed the Czechoslovak Government at its extraordinary session here today on his meeting with representatives of the Civic Forum earlier today.

The government voiced full consent to the talks and approved draft amendments to the Constitution in three articles as had been agreed in the course of the talks between Adamec and representatives of the Civic Forum. The draft will be submitted to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly tomorrow.

Within a few days talks between leading officials of the Czechoslovak Government and other political parties and social organizations will take place, in connection with a new composition of the Federal Government.

Forum Communique on Talks

LD2811205989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] And now let us return to an event on which we have already reported several times today, first of all, in a direct relay this afternoon, from the Office of the Presidium of the Federal Government. What are the results of today's talks between the delegations of the Federal Government, the National Front, and the Civic Forum? Marian Calfa, federal government minister, reports. [passage omitted]

The viewpoint of the Civic Forum, as well as that of Public Against Violence, on the results of the talks with the Czechoslovak premier: The Civic Forum is of the opinion that the talks with the federal premier, Mr Ladislav Adamec and his colleagues, authorizes it to submit to the public the following information and proposals:

First, the premier promised the delegation that by Sunday, 3 December 1989, he will set up a government with its new composition.

Second, the premier announced to the delegation that tomorrow, the government will submit to the Federal Assembly a draft constitutional bill which will delete from the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic the articles legally anchoring the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism as state ideology.

Third, the premier promised the delegation that he will urgently discuss with the National Committee of Prague the allocation of premises for Civil Forum, and with other institutions he will discuss the access of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence to communication media, including setting up conditions for publishing their own papers.

Fourth, the premier told the delegation that he has already suggested to the president of the Republic that amnesty be granted to political prisoners, the list of whom was handed over by the Civic Forum to the premier during the last round of talks. The Civil Forum will ask the president of the Republic to comply with this suggestion, by 10 december at the latest, which is the Day of Human Rights. The Civic Forum is receiving information to the effect that this list is incomplete and that is why Civic Forum and Public Against Violence reserve the right to supplement it.

Fifth, the Civil Forum has gratefully accepted the report of Dr Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, that the Presidium of the Federal Assembly has decided to propose at the meeting of the Federal Assembly to set up a special commission to investigate the brutal action against the peaceful demonstration of Prague students on 17 November of this year. Representatives of Civil Forum, above all students, will be asked to take part in the work of this commission.

Sixth, the delegation asked the premier that the changed government might, as soon as possible, issue the principles of its program statement which should make it clear that the government is ready to set up legal prerequisites to safeguard free election, freedom of association, assembly, freedom of speech and press, for doing away with the state supervision over churches, for amendments to the recruitment law, and others. It is further necessary to ensure that the People's Militia is eliminated and to assess the question of the further presence of organizations of political parties at all work places. At the same time, the delegation asked the premier that the government might, as soon as possible, change its program statements into visible deeds. The delegation made it clear to the premier that if the public is not happy with the program statement and its implementation into actual activity, the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence will ask at the end of the year that the premier resign and the president appoint a new premier whom the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence will nominate, if the president of the Republic considers it necessary.

Seventh, the Civic Forum will request in writing on 29 November 1989 that the president of the Republic, Dr. Gustav Husak, resign by 10 December of this year.

Eighth, the delegation suggested to the premier that the government submit to the Federal Assembly a draft constitutional bill according to which the deputies to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, the Slovak National Council, and the National Committees of all levels, who did not fulfil their deputy promise and neglected the will and interests of the people, will be

recalled from their posts. The method of by-elections will be proposed by the Civic Forum and Public Against Voilence shortly.

Ninth, the Civic Forum appeals to the government and the Federal Assembly to immediately condemn the entry of the Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968. It says that the Federal Assembly should turn to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the representative organs of Bulgaria and GDR with the request that the intervention of the Armies of the five states in Czechoslovakia be declared an infringement upon the norms of international law and the Warsaw Pact, itself, for the intervention took place without the knowledge and agreement of the highest state organs of Czechoslovakia.

Tenth, the Civic Forum is of the opinion that these results of the talks authorize it to appeal to all citizens to continue in their peaceful work, while preserving the state of constant strike readiness. The strike committees can be transformed into civic forums, but they can also be active alongside them. Students and dramatists will decide themselves whether or not they will end their strike today or tomorrow or whether they will continue it. Whatever their decision, the Civic Forum will support their attitude. The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence ask our public that they themselves assess the current results of our talks and communicate their views to the Civic Forum by all accessible means.

This communique was adopted at 1600 on 28 November.

Further on News Conference

LD2811212989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Civic Forum held a news conference this evening. Our editor Zita Senkova reports:

[Senkova] At the news conference, Civic Forum representatives briefed CSSR and foreign newsmen on the results of today's meeting with Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec. They reported that the students' and theater workers' strike will continue. Martin Mejstrik will report on behalf of the students on when it ends and Miroslav Machacek on behalf of the actors. On 29 November, Forum representatives will make a written appeal to President Gustav Husak, asking him to resign by 10 December.

At the same time they reported on a letter sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee calling on them to condemn the intervention by the allied forces of the Warsaw pact in August 1968 as a violation of the norms of international law. They have also made a similar request to the governments of Bulgaria and the GDR.

The Civic Forum representatives welcomed the fact that they have been given access to parts of the Palace of Culture in Prague from tomorrow.

The news conference also reported that the LIDOVE NOVINY monthly is to become an independent daily.

Adamec Briefs Parties on Talks

LD2911122689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] A short time ago, reporter Rudolf Erhart telephoned us from the Presidium of the Federal Government:

[Begin Erhart recording] Ladislav Adamec, premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, [SR] met in Prague today with representatives of individual political parties and social organizations of the National Front. Ladislav Adamec briefed them, first of all, on the results of talks with representatives of the Civic Forum and on their further demands. He expressed the intention to speedily submit a propoal on including in the government members of other political parties and citizens which are not party members.

During the discussion, all the participants at today's meeting spoke not only about the present complex situation in the state and society but at the same time adopted stands on its solution. They also expressed appreciation for the results that have been achieved at yesterday's talks with representatives of the Civic Forum. In this connection, participants in the meeting stressed the trust which Ladislav Adamec enjoys and said that parties and organizations which they represent hold the view that he should continue to head the new composition of the government of the Czechoslovak SR. They promised that they would announce specific proposals for the new government composition to Ladislav Adamec in such a way that the new composition of the Federal Government can be submitted by 3 December 1989.

In the course of a discussion on the program statement of the Government of the Czechoslovak SR, Ladislav Adamec noted that he has already three times informed our highest representative body—the Federal Assembly—on its operative implementation. Despite all the complexities of the social and political life, it is necessary to realize that the Czechoslovak Government bears the responsibility, above all, for the economic development. Its basic program is to complete the restructuring successfully. [end recording]

Further Reportage on CPSL Committee Session

Janak Demands '68 Crisis Evaluation

LD2611175189 Prague CTK in English 1714 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 26 (CTK)—Entrusted by the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, its first secretary Ignac Janak put forward draft measures of action at an extraordinary session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee here today.

They include demands for the preparation of an extraordinary session of the Slovak Communist Party, demands for evaluation of the causes of the social and political crises, mainly the year 1968, and a dialogue with former leading functionaries of the party and state bodies and the communists who had to leave the party in 1970 and want to join the reconstruction of the socialist society.

In his speech Ignac Janak admitted that the party started to turn from a political vanguard to a body of power in many spheres. Instead of everyday efforts, the struggle for confidence of the people, understanding of their wishes and determination, many functionaries applied in practice wrong forms and methods which bureaucratized the political work. This led to passivity, excessive certainty and self-indulgence, Janak said.

The irresolute attitude since the beginning of student strikes, simplified evaluation of the causes of the social and party crisis and the unlawful reaction to the events of this week have considerably speeded up the development to the brink of struggle for the fate of socialism and the party's position in society. The new wave of criticism concerning the party and its leadership has grown also after Friday's extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. The party has thus appeared on the edge of the political and social life, Janak said.

"The conclusions of the Party Central Committee and the address of its general secretary Karel Urbanek show the ways out of this complicated situation. We voice full support for them", he said.

"It is high time", he continued, "to put a definitive end not only to assertions but also to the practice based on the belief that everything essential that should have been done for socialism, has already been accomplished."

Janak 26 Nov Speech

AU2811190589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "An Extraordinary CPSL Central Committee Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—An extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee began in Bratislava on Sunday [26 November].

Comrade Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, delivered a short report on the political situation in Slovakia and on the proposed solutions.

The meeting continued with a discussion.

Stefan Murin, Jaroslav Hlinicky, Viliam Plevza, Jan Solovic, Herbert Durkovic, Jozef Kiss, Albert Fabian, Alexander Szabo, Vladimir Trvala, and Lubomir Kubascik spoke at the discussion.

Some comrades came up with factual suggestions.

The meeting will continue today.

Speech Delivered by Comrade Ignac Janak

Esteemed Comrades,

Slovakia's most recent history is associated with the communist party's struggle and endeavor for the working people's rights and happiness, for their interests, and for real global values. Only he who does not want to, does not see the material and spiritual values which our socialist present provides and which are a result of the tireless efforts and enterprise of communists, nonparty members, workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, women, and the young generation to build a just and prosperous society and to create the very best conditions for every stalwart working person's full and rich life. Why are we emphasizing this? Because a wave of emotion has swelled up recently and in some people this emotion has even manifested itself as hatred of the party, hatred that has resulted in crisis. This is all the more painful because our party's one and only credo always has been, and still is, to serve the people, all the people, as well as their interests. Therefore, we are obliged to openly and realistically consider today's crisis situation and to adopt measures to overcome it.

Many of our measures, which were aimed at strengthening and further intensifying relations between the communist party and the people, have not been fulfilled and were ineffective. This requires a comprehensive and honest analysis. Critical evaluations on implementing the party's leading role and its cadre policy are being expressed with great pathos in public opinion and at demonstrations in Bratislava and in other cities in Slovakia.

We have not completed a full analysis. However, we must say openly that the party leadership has become involved with the administrative-command system of management and with the extensive development of society. In many ways, our party has begun to change from the political avant garde into an organ of power. Among some functionaries—instead of the everyday effort and struggle to win the people's trust and to get to know their desires and instead of a resolve for practical activity—incorrect forms and methods have been established, methods that have bureaucratized political work. This has led to passivity, too much certainty, and comfort seeking.

We had, and we have, many party members but not all of them are genuine fighters who manage to implement and defend party policy through their efforts. Therefore, the social and political situation in our country has come to an acute head.

An indecisive approach since the beginning of the students' strikes, an over-simplified evaluation of the causes of the social and party crisis based on a previous assessment of events, and the unjustified reaction proceeding from this toward events of this Monday [20

November] has speedily and significantly pushed development onto the brink of the struggle for the fate of socialism and for the party's place in society.

It was a grave mistake to regard the strike movement from the beginning of this week only as a students' affair. We did not recognize the justification of the demands in time and did not discern the movement's widening social background and its conspicuous politicization. Incorrect approaches aimed mainly at isolating the strikes resulted from this. It would have been more effective to actively join in the movement and to significantly influence its interests by mobilizing the working class and the rest of the working people. Because we did not adopt the correct point of view on time, we have placed the primary organizations, their functionaries, and rank and file communists in a very difficult position.

The new wave of criticism directed at the party and its leadership increased after the CPCZ Central Committee's extraordinary session on Friday [24 November]. Thus, the party has found itself on the periphery of social and political events.

The CPCZ Central Committee resolutions and the speech delivered by Comrade Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, point to a way out of this complicated situation. We fully support this platform.

It is high time to take decisive steps so that each citizen, regardless of his opinions or political appurtenance, can fully involve himself and freely and initiatively participate in our country's development. Scope must be provided for all honest people.

Slovak university students and the Public Against Violence Movement make the following demands in their statement:

1. The establishment of an independent investigative commission to look into the Prague events and to objectively and truthfully inform the public about its results and to punish the culprits. The answer is unequivocal! We are of the opinion that the means of power should be adequately used to protect the lives and interests of all our citizens and not against them. That kind of activity has our full support.

2. They demand the resignation of those politicians and government representatives responsible for society's current state. We also identify with this demand because this belongs among the fundamental attributes of our party policy and our morals. It is necessary to openly admit that there had been a huge gulf between words and deeds in this sphere. We assure our fellow citizens that by means of the very unity of their words and actions, Communists will strive to regain society's trust. We declare that holding a party function, or a function on behalf of the party, does not mean a right to privileges but is an obligation to serve the people.

3. They demand the pluralization of political life in Czechoslovakia, as well as free elections in which the leading force must compete for the people's trust and not have it constitutionally guaranteed. This is a logical demand stemming from the democratic norms of political life in every cultured society.

4. They demand that a serious social dialogue be initiated, a dialogue that must be accessible to everyone, with the exception of those who would like to introduce violence into it. This demand also concurs with a resolution from the CPCZ Central Committee session; we always strived and are still striving for dialogue. We can declare responsibly that we spoke with everyone who came or who requested to be received by the CPSL Central Committee. We also must be more initiative in dialogue.

5. They demand that the mass information and propaganda media be accessible to all the political and social movements that participate in political dialogue. This is absolutely logical. Each political party and the majority of social and special interest organizations have their own press organs. I want to emphasize that we must strive for fruitful dialogue through these media. Not for a dialogue of the deaf or for a monologue of irreconcilable and mutually ignorant partners, but for a dialogue among people who appreciate logic, who mutually respect each other, who are striving for generally advantageous aims and optimum starting points, and who are willing to bear personal responsibility.

Comrades!

Recently, but particularly during the past few days, some grave problems, demands, and inconsistencies have mercilessly come to the surface. We have to deal with them. Stimulating ideas and proposals are issuing from a stormy dialogue. This dialogue is also accompanied by invectives and demagogy with an antisocialist tinge on top. However, this has nothing in common with the young people's sincere and honest desire to overcome everything that prevents the people from once more regarding socialism as a progressive and highly humane social system. I want to stress that we can and must come to terms with these tasks by making full use of everyone's knowledge, minds, and hearts; I would place our young people first. It is high time for us to once and for all do away with the claims, as well as with the practice, that everything essential which had to be done in order to make use of socialism's potential has already been done! An incorrect approach ties our young people's enormous energy down and has driven it into alienation, an alienation which it wants to overcome by means of street demonstrations.

Comrades,

It is necessary to unequivocally state that the construction of socialism is a much more complicated process than we had imagined. We have still not reached the first hill on our journey, and more and even steeper slopes lie ahead of us; stalwart, courageous, and well prepared

people will be required to conquer these hills. We will fully depend on these people.

Entrusted by the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, I am submitting a proposal for the following measures:

1. To speedily proceed toward preparing an extraordinary CPSL congress and toward drafting a CPSL Action Program.

2. To assess the CPCZ's history under socialism, first and foremost, the causes of the social and political crises, in particular, 1968 as an attempt at social reform and the renovation of socialism. We consider this to be one of the vital prerequisites for regaining the people's trust in the implementation of social restructuring.

3. To hold talks with former leading officials in party and state organs, as well as with communists who left the party ranks in 1970 and who want to participate in the renewal of socialist society.

4. To bring to the forefront of the party at all levels young, creative, and professionally and politically well-grounded cadres capable of conducting an effective dialogue with citizens' initiatives, with all population groups, as well as with the organizations which represent them.

5. The CPSL Central Committee appeals to all communists to mobilize party organs and organizations: Today's task is to prevent economic and social upheaval which would render society's socialist renewal impossible. We turn to all working people and citizens to project all their will toward the renewal of socialism and to do this in a way that will not lead to grave problems in our national economy, to the disruption of supplies, and to the subversion of the state.

6. To help create scope in the mass information media for a plurality of views and to guarantee the timely nature and truthfulness of information. However, it is essential not to permit the propagation of antisocial and antihumane views which are at variance with the Constitution and with socialist legality.

7. To speedily prepare and, after consideration at the next CPSL Central Committee plenum session, to submit to the Presidium, or rather, a CPCZ Central Committee plenum, the CPSL Central Committee Platform for the Revolutionary Renewal of the Party and the Deliverance of Society From Crisis.

8. To begin a dialogue on our socialist future with the political parties and social organizations affiliated in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front and also with citizens' initiatives.

Comrades!

We must also clearly realize that every shift to the right in Czechoslovakia—in the political and economic spheres—would, in the final analysis, harm the people's interests. History is a convincing testimony to this. A communist party capable of action linked to the people, as well as the thorough implementation of scientific principles for the development of socialist society can not only guarantee Slovakia its identity and sovereignty but also equal relations in a united Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the development of mutually advantageous and friendly ties with our neighbors.

Radio Reports CC Changes

LD2811193689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Central Committee ended in Bratislava in the early hours of this morning. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee promoted the following comrades from the candidate membership to the full membership of the CPSL Central Committee: Jozef Antonik, Imrich Gula, Maria Hadusovska, Stefan Juhasz, Beata Kacejova, Peter Paprcka, Anna Pavolkova, Michal Spunta, Bozena Storova, Vojtech Svantner and Elemir Vajas. [passage omitted]

Aktiv Forms 'Action Committee'

LD2911113189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] An action committee was founded at a statewide aktiv of the chairmen of enterprises and primary Communist Party of Slovakia organizations. Action committees were founded also in the first and second Bratislava boroughs. Their program is the same as that of the Democratic Forum of Communists in Prague and it invites the party members to take part in working out the action program and further necessary proposals for ways out of the current situation.

The action program of the Bratislava communists has 12 points which contain demands for the creation of conditions for free and fully democratic elections, promote the speedy working out of drafts of National and Federal constitutions, and urge the abolition of Article 4 of the current Constitution.

The communists of Bratislava demand an objective and truthful flow of information, the representation of communists in newly founded editorial offices, the beginning of immediate talks of communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union, and also that the representatives of Civil Initiatives publicly express their attitude to the Communist Party and the rank-and-file communists and guarantee them equal opportunity in the implementation of current tasks.

Further on People's Party Committee Meeting

More on Resignations

LD2711235989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party opened its meeting a short while ago in the Charitas Palace in Prague. First, the Party Presidium and Secretariat submitted their resignation to the Central Committee. The reason given for this action was that they made many mistakes in their work, which, under the pressure of current events, grew into a party crisis. They thereby lost the confidence of the membership base, and also contact with current political developments.

After the submission of the report on the resignation, a lively debate began on whether or not the proceedings should be steered by a commission that has been formed, or by the existing Presidium. There was also a debate about an increase in the number of Central Committee members by way of co-opting.

The purpose of the meeting is to ensure that the Czechoslovak People's Party is not left on the sidelines of the process taking place throughout our society. The meeting continues.

Elects New Leadership

LD2811102489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party elected a new leadership in Prague in the early hours this morning. (Josef Vartoncnik) was elected party chairman; Bohumil Svoboda was elected first vice chairman; and (Frantisek Rajchl) was elected second vice chairman. (Richard Sacher) was elected general secretary of the Czechoslovak People's Party. At the end of the meeting, the party's Central Committee adopted a policy statement.

Adopts Program Statement

LD2811220089 Prague CTK in English 1410 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—The two-day extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak People's Party finished here today with the election of a new Presidium and adoption of a program statement.

Josef Bartoncik was elected new chairman of the party which associates over 40,000 Christians of all beliefs.

The so far presidium headed by Zbynek Zalman founded out that they have committed many mistakes which, under the pressure of the latest events, led to a party crisis and they resigned from their functions on November 26. [sentence as received]

The Czechoslovak People's Party is decided to represent a free and independent political party with its own political program, the adopted statement says. A system of one leading party which establishes its role in legal documents and ensures it by means of power is unacceptable.

The Czechoslovak People's Party will support all manifestations leading to preservation and development of democracy and in this sense also backs the Civic Forum movement, the statement points out.

Chairman Meets With Urbanek

LD2811185489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and National Front Central Committee deputy chairman, today met with the newly-elected chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, Josef Bartoncik. They exchanged views on the current complicated situation and agreed that a solution must be sought on the basis of socialism, freed from the mistakes of the past. The means for solution must be a dialogue of all, regardless of which parties or democratic streams they belong to and regardless of their religious denomination, a dialogue led with the active participation of citizens without political affiliation.

Chairman Discusses Goals, Future

LD2811200489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee, which elected its new leading organs, concluded after midnight. The new chairman of this party, Dr Josef Bartoncik, a deputy of the Federal Assembly, has completed his first day in his post. He has given the following interview to Vaclav Klement:

[Begin recording] [Klemont] Mr Chairman, what conclusions have emerged from the extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee which concluded late last night?

[Bartoncik] A current of renewal has surfaced in the Czechoslovak People's Party. This is a representation of views of the broadest membership which has been dissatisfied with the role played in society by the Czechoslovak People's Party, to a considerable extent because of its leadership. At the Central Committee session, certain cadre program conclusions have been adopted—I would like to point to the program statement which supports some basic ideas on which we want to build in the immediate and later future.

[Klement] How does the new leadership of the Czechoslovak People's Party see its position in our society and how does it want to express its commitment in the present time?

[Bartoncik] We are a political party and thus we would like to really be a political party—that is not at all any

kind of a component which sometimes in the past only passively made use of the scope given to it, but, on the contrary, we would like to participate actively in the building of this scope, in the development of the process which is taking place in our society and which, as we all hope, is directed towards democracy, democracy in all its forms, parliamentary democracy, for the creation of a pluralist society.

[Klement] We know that talks are in progress about the participation of your party in the government and, in general, in the management of public matters. Do you find understanding on the part of your partners?

[Bartoncik] I must say that the new leadership of the Czechoslovak People's Party has met with exceptional understanding. Naturally, we have to clarify some present and, no doubt, future facts which will, in many respects, differ from the previous practice of cooperation between political parties and the government. We believe that, in this respect, relations will develop further. most of these talks I am conducting personally. In the course of my first day in office, I can say that I have met with maximum understanding both in the federal government and at the level of the republican government. [end recording]

Urbanek Talks to Kladno Miners on CPCZ Meeting

LD2711111189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1015 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] There was an unusual shift change at the Nosek colliery in Tuchlovice in the Kladno District this morning. Shortly after 0600, literally a few hours after the extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee ended, Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to the colliery.

During the informal welcome by employees and the party and economic management of the colliery, he said he was interested to see the slogan "we support the democratization process but by honest work and not by suspending it", which was pinned on a board along with working results.

All our work collectives should understand this slogan today. Our course is the continuation of economic reform and the restructuring of the entire society. We shall not achieve this in any other way but by honest work, Karel Urbanek said.

On his way to the completely filled canteen, where not only miners from the Nosek colliery but also metallurgical workers from the Poldi SONP Kladno Steel Works and other working people were assembled, he was interested to hear views on the current situation.

Karel Urbanek first of all informed those assembled about the outcome of the debate at the CPCZ Central Committee meeting which ended only a short while ago. He said that the meeting examined the current internal political situation, which is very serious. We are standing at a certain crossroad, he said, and we should do everything to ensure that there is socialism in our country. He also briefed them about cadre changes, which also lie in a greater worker representation in the party leadership. We are doing this, Karel Urbanek stressed, to learn at the meetings of our orans the views that prevail directly in working collectives.

Answers Miners' Questions

LD2811185389

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech at 1640 GMT on 27 November is monitored in progress carrying a recording of a meeting held between Communist Party of Czechoslovakia General Secretary Karel Urbanek and miners at the Nosek coal mine in Tuchlovice, Kladno District. Following an address to the miners, Urbanek responds to questions from the miners. Reception is poor to unmonitorable.

Several miners ask whether he believes that the present situation is the result of bad work by party functionaries.

Urbanek replies: "I do not reject this view, comrades! We can look at this in another way, too. For example, has Comrade (Spejna), the leading secretary, ever visited you?" Several say yes. Urbanek continues: "I do not mean to work, but to visit. Has Comrade Haman ever visited you?" Several say yes. Urbanek continues: "I have openly said myself, openly in discussions, that when working collectives do not know the chairman of the primary organization, or the chairman of the enterprise committee, political work cannot be done this way. I say this quite openly. And this is one of the reasons why the party has not enjoyed such trust as in the past. People should not put up with this, but we must, in this respect, indeed look for ways to be more demanding, every one on himself! And in the party too, every functionary! In order that we not only live in comfort, although (?this is also necessary), but go out to meet people; otherwise we shall not win your trust and, I think, not deserve it either. I know you could say, comrade—everyone, or many people have been saying this—this can only be changed by a real deed, and we have to strive for this. You should have been speaking openly about matters in working collectives and at meetings and so on. But let us not stop at this question. Let us disscuss other matters too, please."

A miner asks: "What does the party intend to do further against the elements which we saw on television yesterday, when Vaclav Havel and criminal elements spoke?" Several in the background ask: What do you mean? The miner continues: "Well, I am interested in this, and some of my colleagues too."

Urbanek replies: "I must admit that I nearly did not hear you, as my attention was focused on the remarks—well, you see, comrades- - we have to learn political culture—in this respect, the remarks were correct. I was recently at

a city party committee aktiv attended by chairmen of primary organizations, and I have to tell you that my heart ached—not because there was an open debate, but because it was carried out with a passion verging on hatred, as if people could not contain inside themselves the force which led them to this. Do we want to behave like this to each other? On that occasion I stressed several times: Comrades, show a certain respect; we are people. I have to say that after this, things calmed down for a bit. It was even more heartbreaking for me when a teacher, I unfortunately do not remember her name—she did say it, though; days go so fast and if I should remember everything—well, this is not possible—anyway, she said that she was from a primary or secondary school—I do not remember this either, but I do not want to confuse matters so that primary organization chairmen do not quote me on this—that there is a strike at the school; she is the only one who does not agree with it, and thus she is the only one who is not allowed in to teach. She cried. Is this right? I do not know whether you have said yes..." Miners interrupt saying: "You have not listened to people for 20 years," and complain about the mine management.

A miner asks, "There is a very serious situation in the country now. There is no time to deal with specific details, but we have to say to ourselves quite clearly what is today, what will be tomorrow and the day after. We support the results of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee plenum, but we have further questions regarding the strike: Afternoon shift did not have transport to work ensured yesterday, and how should party and trade union organizations in enterprises react to the newly forming Civic Forum, and how will delegates to the January emergence party congress be elected?"

Urbanek, in response to further voices in the background, says: "Just a minute; I do not have paper and pencil—and the comrade could then say that he has asked me questions and I have not given him answers.

"As is known, even among representatives of the National Front, there were also representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee who have held talks with representatives of the Civic Forum in Prague and also with the Club for the Renewal of Socialism. It is necessary—even though we shall often have different views—it is necessary to talk to people, to exchange views and to talk. We simply cannot hide; this does not solve the situation. The situation is serious. You saw a comrade here, how tense he was—and there are many such tense people. But, in my opinion, we cannot continue to give orders and demands and adopt approaches like, I am not interested in what the other side has to say, even with valid arguments, I am not interested at all. It is necessary to look jointly for ways, and not to reject each other.

"Such is the situation, comrades, because we said at the CPCZ Central Committee session that we shall solve the existing situation, and I repeat it again—which is very serious, very serious indeed—by political means."

Applause is heard. Urbanek continues: "And concerning the transport—I used to work, incidently, in transport, although in railway, and I believe that such an approach, when people are prevented from getting to work, is not correct." He is applauded.

Urbanek goes on: "I have a following memory, comrades, now, when I am among miners. From the transport, I was selected to go to work in a party apparatus and in 1974 I moved to Brno. Two months later—this is your sphere—in the Rosice coal field, the Vaclav Nosek mine was being closed down—as I am now looing at you, there the people were considerably older—and the mine was being closed down with such sadness. There was a march, and a miners' song was sung to say goodbye, and those hard men who worked in very difficult conditions, in difficult conditions indeed, had tears in their eyes. I then asked why, because I knew that conditions there were especially difficult. I said to myself, one must be brave, a hero, to go down under the ground and walk a bit there. I must admit that I could not work long there, so I asked myself why those people had tears running down their cheeks. This was in 1974 when miners had not only joy from their work but they were also proud of their—and I shall repeat it again—very difficult work. And this I still have in my mind, and when I think how some people work lightly and how they, unfortunately, get money easily—then I feel a great injustice in this.

"As for the questions of electing delegates for the congress: Comrades, the CPCZ has valid Statutes. This is a certain internal law, and no one has the right to violate it; and according to them, delegates can be elected for an extroardinary congress only at regional conferences. Yesterday, we very seriously discussed the acceleration of the congress—the situation demands that the congress be held sooner—but if we say that we shall carry out honest policy, just policy, then we cannot from the very begining be violating the basic norm—the Statute—and these Statues say that an extraordinary congress can be only held with at least 8 weeks notice. Is this enough?"

A miner's question is drowned out by other miners' attempts to praise and criticize the newspaper RUDE PRAVO.

Urbanek says: "Can I intervene? I must, yet again, comrades, friends, speak about political culture in behavior. Why should one side have the right to express a view and the other not?" He is greeted by applause. Urbanek continues: "Let us learn this, let us not restrict each other; let us listen patiently."

A miner complains about selective reporting by television, followed by various ideas from the floor: VIP's facilities should be given to the people; this would be a democratic gesture, etc.

Urbanked replies: "Concerning special shops, they existed in the past. As is known, the city party committee in Prague has abolished them—these were not shops used exclusively by party functionaries, but for functionaries from various central organs, and diplomats. This is

true. There is still one shop selling foodstuff, which belongs to the Praha Hotel where goods, if compared with the ESO shops [luxury home and foreign food shops]—there is a greater range of goods and more expensive, this is true, but there is also a surcharge of three percent on each item—and this is only food. This is true. But the main reason is also that there are various events, functions of government organs, central organs, and also party organs, and for those purposes the goods are taken directly from there and served to participants. I am telling you the truth. We cannot talk about shops, but a shop. I am saying this quite responsibly.

"Concerning leisure facilities, I do not have the exact figures, I have not been in the central organ for a long time yet, but there are some recreation establishments. But let me ask you a question, comrades: Enterprise workers have the right to go on holiday with their families, so why should apparatus staff not have the right to go on holiday in summer, or during school holidays with children on holiday? Believe me, functionaries with wives and children do not have easy lives.

"Concerning the shop network, agriculture and food processing industry, I would like to say that the blame does not always lie with the (?food producers), but the trade is to be blamed too. And when we tried to harmonize this somehow, then one blamed the other, like a ping pong game. But it is the truth, however, that when you enter a shop you can immediately see what kind of person is in charge there. You can see this immediately. Shop assistants do not serve you; they only dispense goods to you—this is mostly in large towns. Believe me, they are tired. If you should calculate how much their daily income has to be, how much goods they have to sell, and for example in textile shops, women often want to be shown this and that and so on. So the bigger the town, the more people want to be served in a shop, and this results in a greater effort. I wanted to say that when I moved to Prague, to Prague-9, and went to a self-service shop at 1800, I was pleasantly surprised, not only by the range of goods, but also by the shop assistants who worked there. I tell you that I have not heard for a long time from a shop assistant—and I was not known then, I was not in my present post—when I was leaving, she told me: Have a nice evening and good night. This simply shocked me."

Prosecutor, Students Meet on 17 Nov Events

Investigation Discussed

LD2611190489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Dr Jaroslav Krupauer, general prosecutor of the Czech Socialist Republic, met today with student representatives: Jan (?Vilda) and Simon Panek, member of the national students coordination strike committee; Stepanka Fidlerova, member of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and member of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation; Jiri (?Jackmanicky), chairman of the [word indistinct] of the Socialist Union of Youth; and Jakub Mencicky, member of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and Film Faculty Strike Committee.

The general prosecutor informed the student representatives about the investigation regarding the legality of the intervention by the police forces against the student demonstration on 17 November in Prague. He stated that the results of the investigation testify to the disproportionate harshness and adequacy of the intervention. Testimony by those affected gives reason to suspect that some police members committed crimes.

This data was passed on 24 November to the Military Prosecutor's Office, which has already opened criminal proceedings in three cases against up to now unidentified culprits, and is investigating other seven cases.

Dr Krupauer answered questions by students' representatives, who informed him of their demand for a parliamentary commission, including their representatives, to be set up in order to exercise control over the consistent investigation of the event, and to disclose all causes and circumstances of the intervention. The general prosecutor pointed out his constitutional responsibility toward the Czech National Council as the supreme representative organ of the republic, and the competency of the Czech National Council to check the correctness of his course of action.

The General Prosecutor's Office of the Czech Socialist Republic continues its investigation of the course and results, of which the public will be kept informed.

Further From Prosecutor

LD2711212889 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The CSSR prosecutor general has informed students' representatives about the existing state of the investigation into the actions of the National Security's Corps at the student demonstration on 17 November this year in Prague. He stated that the results of the investigation testify to the disproportionate harshness of the action.

We recorded the following statement issued by the Military Prosecutor's Office:

[Begin unidentified person's voice] From the material collected until now by the military section of the Czechoslovak Prosecutor's Office, such facts have emerged which would indicate that the criminal act of the abuse of a public official's power by individual persons, as yet unidentified members of the National Security Corps, was committed. Criminal proceedings have been started regarding this said criminal act in accordance with Paragraph 160, section 1, of the Criminal Code. As I have said, a group of investigators, which was formed at

the relevant military municipal district prosecutor's office in Prague, has been empowered to carry out the investigation.

The military section of the Czechoslovak Prosecutor's Office appeals to all citizens to understand that the investigation, with the need to maintain all fundamental principles of criminal proceedings, will require a certain space of time, despite all the endeavors, to find the truth. The professional honor and ethics of the prosecutor's work permits that only such objective findings form the basis of a just appraisal of the evidence presented, and of drawing a conclusion which is responsible before the law.

Oversight Committee Planned

LD2811213889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The legislative committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly unanimously supported at their joint meeting today the setting up of a parliamentary commission to verify the progress of the investigation into the action by the order units against the demonstrating students on 17 November of this year. The deputies recommended that this commission be set up as early as at tomorrow's joint meeting of the Chamber of the Peoples and the Chamber of the Nations. Zdenek Ceska, chairman of the legislative committee of the Chamber of the People, deputies of the Czech National Council should also take part in the activity of the Commission, inasmuch as the investigations have been conducted by the General Prosecutor's Office of the Czech Socialist Republic.

Urbanek Urges Speedy Investigation

LD2911170889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, met in Prague today with the general prosecutors of the Czechoslovak and Czech Socialist Republic, Jan Pjescak and Jaroslav Krupauer, and Miroslav Vecker, member of the leadership of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ. He handed them a statement from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Czech Ministry of the Interior and Environment, which conveys new facts concerning the action of the order-enforcement forces on 17 November.

Karen Urbanek asked both prosecutors to speed up the investigation as much as possible so that our public could be informed about its results as soon as possible.

Special Prague Dailies Issues Published 26 Nov

Concentrate on 25 Nov

LD2611174789 Prague CTK in English 1208 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Special issues of all Prague dailies were published here today. They concentrate on the events in Czechoslovakia on Saturday, November 25, 1989.

RUDE PRAVO published excerpts from the discussion at the extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on November 24. Almost all speakers openly dealt with the situation in society, trying to uncover the reasons of the problems and search for ways out. Editor Jan Lipavsky stressed that also further discussion which will be published by the daily will show to an objective reader that the majority of the Central Committee members are aware of their responsibility for the further fate of the country, that they can openly deal with the problems and crisis phenomena in society.

The author pointed out the discussion at the meeting of party functionaries of Prague who passed a vote of no-confidence in leading secretary Miroslav Stepan. Reports on evident activation of the party are arriving from various regions. They aim at taking a firm position on the political stage, leading an open dialogue with all who care for the fate of socialism, he said.

SVOBODNE SLOVO pointed out that all Czechoslovak citizens have started to take lessons at a school of democracy, stressing that to pass the test in democracy means inter alia independence of thinking and unity of words and deeds. The order of time is to preserve the wave of solidarity of the majority of the nation as long as the justified demands are met.

The personal changes in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has been left by a number of discredited politicians, demonstrate the difficulties the party has to cope with to harmonise its activities with the current events in the country. "We don't want to hide that the Czechoslovak Communist Party will have to speed up its efforts to pass the test in democracy the lessons of which are being attended by the whole nation," the daily said.

The Czechoslovak People's Party published today also a special issue of its daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE devoted to the events in Czechoslovakia.

"We are ready to cooperate honestly on the socialist basis with all forces in this society, on the basis of mutual equality, respect for views and independence. This is the only way of leading our country out of the present general crisis. We are of the opinion that the article of the Czechoslovak Consititution concerning the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society should be crossed out. Let us all have equal rights and chances,

without any privileges, under equal conditions for winning confidence of the people," LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE wrote.

PRAVDA Deals With CPCZ Meeting

LD2611174889 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] PRAVDA—A special issue of the Slovak Communist Party daily was published today under the title "We Support Demands to do Away With all Deformations and Mistakes of the Past and Ensure Revival of Society." The paper says that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium at last night's session called a Central Committee session for today—November 26. The session will discuss topical political and organizational issues. The Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium called at yesterday's session a Central Committee extraordinary session for today.

The daily publishes the resolution of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Extraordinary session of November 24. The closing speech of newly elected party general secretary Karel Urbanek delivered at this session, Karel Urbanek's address on Czechoslovak television on November 25 and his speech at yesterday's meeting of Prague chairmen of the Czechoslovak Communist Party primary organizations.

"PRAVDA" brings detailed reports from yesterday's session of regional party committees.

At yesterday's meeting of city party chairmen in Prague, Many communists said that they do not want either administrative or legal enforcement of party's leading role, but they are for a dialogue on institutional principles, the daily stressed. Participants in the meeting criticised bureaucratic methods of party management, the separation of party functionaries from party members and working masses and demanded more systematic consultations with economists, philosophers and other specialists, attention to problems and remarks of workers and young people.

The article entitled "At Squares of the Republic" depicts the atmosphere at yesterday's mass demonstrations of citizens in Prague, Bratislava, Brno, Kosice and other towns. At the rally in Bratislava, students' demands were also supported by students and employees of the High Police School, the Municipal Police headquarters and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The paper publishes draft principles for the preparation of the program of action of the Communist Party prepared by communists from Philosophical Faculty of Komensky University in Bratislava. The proposal underlines that it is necessary to dissociate from Stalinism, which came into existence in specific historical conditions, elaborate quickly a party program of action, prepare conditions for systematic changes in economy and the whole structure of social life, re-evaluate the principle of Communist Party's leading role.

Party Press Coverage Roundups on Events

21 Nov Coverage

AU2411213389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO "ada" and "fm" correspondents: "Appeals For Calming the Situation in Prague Not Heeded; Demonstrations and Students' Strikes Continue"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Students' strikes continued in the majority of the institutes of higher learning in the Czech SR and some institutes of higher learning in the Slovak SR on Tuesday [21 November]. There were no classes in many secondary schools, especially in Prague. Industry, agriculture, and services worked normally.

There were street gatherings and demonstrations of students and other, predominantly young, people in Prague and other cities, in the course of which various political and other demands were voiced.

The unfolding events continue to be influenced by young people's emotional reactions to the order-enforcement bodies' intervention against the student demonstration in Prague on Friday [17 November]. We would like to believe that the decisions of the CSSR and the Czech SR premiers, Ladislav Adamec and Frantisek Pitra, to charge the CSSR Prosecutor General and the Czech SR Prosecutor General with the task of investigating the causes that led to the intervention of the security units on 17 November 1989, and thus also whether the degree was appropriate, will contribute to the calming down of the situation.

In the afternoon, Wenceslas Square was again filled with people, whose number was estimated at about 100,000. From the balcony of the Melantrich publishing house the people were addressed by a number of speakers, among them Vaclav Havel and Jiri Bartoska, who informed those present about the meeting with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec. Afterward a proclamation of the Civic Forum association was read.

During the gathering demands could be heard, calling for the resignation of some ranking officials of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and the government.

In the afternoon, Czechoslovak Radio carried live an apeal by national artist Rudolf Hrusinsky who, on behalf of the management of the ensemble of the drama section of the National Theater, asked the participants in the gathering to desist from any violence or anything that could be regarded as violence.

Extraordinary Session of the CPCZ City Committee in Prague

The CPCZ City Committee held an extraordinary session in Prague on Tuesday [21 November]. Comrade Miroslav Stepan said that the Presidium of the CPCZ City Committee considered it necessary to hold a meeting, because the party body has been receiving standpoints from individuals and collectives demanding the party's clear stance and information about all events. Therefore, it is now urgent to provide fast and accurate information, but also to activate the party, and restore its political functions. What is involved today are no longer the Friday [17 November] events or students, but the misuse of a grave situation for a power struggle, Comrade Stepan said. We must not permit a tragedy to occur.

The very emotional discussion has also revealed the need to find a way out of the crisis, the need for a dialogue, but calmly and without emotion. There was much criticism of the media, whose frequently belated and contradictory information leads to differing interpretations. For example, Stanislav Vodrazka of the Avia enterprise said that the issue of the flow of information does not concern the media only, but also the highest party and state bodies. When we receive prompt information we will not have to refute reports broadcast by Western radios. Workers, although not all of them, have not lost their faith yet. But that could easily happen.

Marie Stiborova provided information about the situation at the faculty of natural sciences of the Charles University. She said that lectures are not being held, but the staffers of the school continue working. When she spoke about the CPCZ plenary meeting held on Tuesday [21 November], she recalled its conclusions: the appeal to the whole of the party not to lose any more trust. At our faculty we have not lost it completely yet. Students came to our party organization, asking for help. However, the important thing is that the solution should be such as to permit party members to face the students.

Martin Ulcak, chairman of the City Committee of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union], said that appearing in the present atmosphere as a Communuist among young people is not at all easy. We wanted to maintain certain influence among young people, because various antisocialist proclamations have appeared. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a clear platform on which we would unite. And the proclamation, with which the majority identifies itself, has become that platform. Strikes have begun. We wanted that also members of the Youth Union would be included in the strike committees. Therefore, we did not try to prevent the strikes and, moreover, we initiated faculty committees of the SSM, so that they could become involved and thus had a partial influence. The fact is that we have not found roads to the central strike staff, which is in the hands of the Civic Initiative, the Charter, and others. Therefore, we also conducted complex negotiations in the course of which we succeeded in eliminating some demands. However, we insist that we do not agree with the standpoints of the governments. We opposed strikes in enterprises, however. But we must work in the situation such as it is, and not deceive ourselves. Among the young people there also emerged good ideas about how to resolve matters. They demand that a CPCZ Central Committee session be convened, that the political platform of the National Front be expanded, and that state bodies be established on a coalition basis under the party leadership.

I am grown up, of age, and no millionaire, Viktor Vrabec of the S.K.Neumann Theater said in the opening part of his speech. I am not influenced by any enemies. I consider myself to be a Communist. However, I would like to say that the proclamation of the actors is not of an emotional nature. It was not written after the alleged death of student Smid, but before that, on Saturday [18 November] at 1400. I would like to assure you that our stance is neither antisocialist nor anticommunist. Personally, I would not permit it. He, however, noted the statement of the CPCZ City Committee, which the session adopted, and with which he does not agree.

In conclusion the session approved the Proclamation of the CPCZ City Committee on the current sociopolitical situation in the capital, which is published separately. [passage omitted]

Aktiv of the Drama Section of the Slovak National Theater

The aktiv of the artists and staff members of the drama section of the Slovak National Theater [SND] in Bratislava, which was held at the suggestion of the committee of the party organization, lasted about 6 hours. From the standpoint of the committee of the enterprise organization of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] and the management of the SND it arose that by not playing two performances in Mala Scena [Little Theater] and in the opera on 19 November, actors and staff members of the theater dissociated themselves from the intervention by some formations of the Public Security Corps during the manifestation in Prague on 17 November.

The standpoint further states that the committee of the CPSL enterprise organization and the management of the SND identify themselves at present with the spontaneous and unanonymous standpoint of the artists and staff members of the SND and demand guarantees that such action will not be repeated in the future. However, the committee of the CPSL enterprise organization and the management of the SND recommend to the actors that they keep on playing because it is their professional duty, and that they read the aforementioned standpoint before each performance.

At the aktiv, which was also attended by Gejza Slapka, CPSL Central Committee secretary, it arose that for the time being the actors do not intend to play the planned performance but wish instead to meet in the theater with their audience during the performance times and conduct a frank and constructive dialogue with it

The aktiv was also attended by meritorious artist Leopold Haverl, a well-known actor, member of the committee of the SND's CPSL enterprise organization and chairman of the workshop committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the drama section of the SND. "I was one of those who were against closing down the theater. This stems from my profound conviction that an actor needs a theater as a writer needs his pen," he said in the opening part of our meeting. And what does he think about the current events in our country and in connection with the attitude of the artists?

"All actors are very carefully monitoring the developments in our fatherland and are trying to draw conclusions from it for themselves. As a Communist I must say that certainly not all actions of our party bodies and governments are in accordance with what our people think. Moreover, today the situation is such that precisely we, the Communists, need truthful information most of all. Personally, I think that one cannot gamble with the theme workers contra intelligentsia, because such a game would again kindle passions. [no closing quotation marks as published]

23 Nov Coverage

AU2711164089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 November devotes the following items to the current domestic political situation in the country:

On page 1, it carries an 800-word editorial entitled "Prudence," which is identical with the editorial processed from Bratislava PRAVDA of the same day . On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word report on Slovak Premier Hrivnak's reception of representatives of Slovak students; an 800-word report on a session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee and its appeal for "honest work and civic responsibility"; a 200-word report on Milos Jakes' meeting with the leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; a 150-word report on Milos Jakes and Ivan Knotek receiving a West Bohemian delegation; a 100-word report on Premier Adamec's meeting with writers Miroslav Valek and Jiri Hajek; and a 700-word "RP"-signed report on demonstrations in Wenceslas Square, strikes at universities, and the, according to the report, "mostly unsuccessful" attempts by student emissaries to convince factory workers to join the general strike planned for 27 November. The report criticizes the fact that "the voice of the Communist Party is scarcely evident" at public rallies and discussion meetings held these days.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries an 800-word Marcela Vanorna article on her interviews with members of a cooperative farm in Kladno district on their views of the demonstrations. While most of them disapprove of the calls for a general strike, they acknowledge the legitimacy of many of the students' demands. On page 2, under the headline "Dialogue, But After Work," RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,200-word roundup of correspondents' reports on the situation in various factories. Officials of various enterprises report that they prevented student representatives from entering their factory premises where they wanted to agitate for their demands. A Skoda Plzen official, for example, explains that the only demand of the students they agree with—the investigation into the 17 November events—has been complied with already and that, if the students want to conduct a dialogue with workers, they can do so after work. The Bratislava correspondent interviews workers of the Slovnaft refinery, in which they deny a rumor, according to which the Slovnaft refinery is on strike.

Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word Jan Kliment commentary entitled "Let Us Protect Children." In his commentary Kliment detects a positive change in the atmosphere at current demonstrations, noting that "slogans calling for violence and provocative appeals have been replaced by the awareness of responsibility" and by "calls for dialogue." Kliment also appeals to the organizers of the demonstrations not to involve children in the current political disputes. On pages 1 and 3, RUDE PRAVO carries an 850-word interview with Jaroslav Krupauer, prosecutor general of the Czech Socialist Republic, on investigations into the events of 17 November.

On pages 1, 2, 3, and 5 RUDE PRAVO also publishes various statements, resolutions, and letters from organizations, institutions, and individuals on the current events (totaling about 4,000 words), the selection of which appears to be much more balanced than in the party paper's preceding issues. While RUDE PRAVO continues to publish statements that are sharply critical of the demonstrations (such as a statement by Hero of Socialist Labor Oldrich Kalousek, who describes the events as "overt counterrevolutionary onslaught" and expresses his "indignation that the party, including the Central Committee, has found itself, in fact, in opposition"), opinions expressing understanding for the demonstrators and criticizing the party leadership's approach to the opposition are also published. A statement by the Committee of the Czech Writers' Association, for example, states that the "brutal" crackdown on the 17 November demonstration "has discredited the policy of the current party leadership and the policy of restructuring and democratization" and it demands "a change of principle in political ethics," the "renunciation of repressive practices," as well as "legal guarantees preventing the misuse of the means of power." The statement also asserts that the "use of the cult of force against words" is not a "reply worthy of the socialist state" and that "dialogue, political arguments, and democracy are the only possible way of overcoming the all-social crisis." Engineer Jan Kroutil, chairman of the Horni Bradlo cooperative farm, says that force against youth demonstrations should not have been used not only on 17 November but also on previous occasions: "It was nonsense. We should have realized even earlier that

the demonstrators are not a few individuals but an emerging political force. We should have negotiated and used political means from the very beginning and place the solution to problems on a political platform."

A statement adopted by the party organization of RUDE PRAVO's printing plant criticizes the "inflexible approach to the solution of unpostponable problems" by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium, which "plays into the hands of the political initiative of other political parties and reactionary forces that seek destabilization in the party and society, puts citizens' trust at jeopardy, and demonstrates the party leadership's lack of political foresight." Gabriela Haladikova, a worker from Bratislava, deplores that party members' expectations of "great cadre changes in the party have not been fulfilled," adding that "we need people in offices who are not compromised."

A resolution by party members from a laboratory of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences criticizes the "insufficiently objective information policy" of RUDE PRAVO and demands that "RUDE PRAVO reflect the views of the entire CPCZ members base and permit a broad internal party polemics." It also expresses "astonishment and concern" at the fact that "to this day no representative of the CPCZ Central Committee or the Federal Government has appeared in the mass media to present a detailed evaluation of the situation." The resolution goes on to criticize the CPCZ Central Committee for not being sufficiently active and leaving the initiative to other organizations and groups: "In this way the CPCZ is, in fact, beginning to vacate political positions, calls in question the policy of restructuring as formulated in the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee, and forces our citizens to look for alternative platforms."

On the same day, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word report on CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary Ivan Knotek's "critical and very frank discussion" with the workforce of the Avia Letnany enterprise and a 60-word report on CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus' meeting with Kladno steel workers. In his discussion with the workers in Letnany, Knotek reportedly "advocated dialogue," adding that "it must be a dialogue which is guided by the bilateral endeavor to develop our socialist country and not a dialogue that is misused against the policy of restructuring." Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 350-word report on a meeting of RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni with the workers of the RUDE PRAVO printing plant, at which Horeni admitted that RUDE PRAVO's "one-sided interpretation of the events" of 17 November was "a serious political mistake." RUDE PRAVO's page 2 also includes interviews with university and secondary school students, totalling 1,300 words, in which they explain their motives for their strike. They say that they demand the punishment of the perpetrators of the 17 November "massacre" and objective information on the events of that day. They also object to the fact that "the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee said in his [television] speech that we are manipulated by antisocialist organizations." The RUDE PRAVO interviewers concede that "there was no anarchy" but "calm" at the schools they visited and that, despite their "dissatisfaction with some RUDE PRAVO reports of the past few days," the students were ready to hold a dialogue with them.

On page 3, under the headline "People's Militia Units Were Not Deployed," RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word interview with several members of People's Militia units from outside Prague, in which they respond to "rumors" that they were to be deployed in Prague the preceding day "to suppress the strikes of students and the demonstration in Wenceslas Square and to occupy plants." They concede that they were summoned to Prague the preceding day because of the "long-term and considerable exhaustion" of regular security forces, but contend that no action against demonstrators or striking students was ever planned. "In view of the situation," they reportedly returned to their home towns the same day.

On page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,400-word roundup of correspondents' reports on foreign media reactions to the developments in Czechoslovakia.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 November also reports extensively on the dramatic domestic political situation, publishing—in addition to items that have been filed separately—reports on demonstrations in individual parts of the country, reports on discussion meetings in Slovak university towns, interviews with workers on their views, and statements and resolutions by political and public organizations, labor teams, and individuals. Like RUDE PRAVO's coverage, the PRAVDA coverage is more balanced than the previous days. For the first time since the start of the unrest, PRAVDA publishes some workers' views that are sympathetic to the students. Asked about his views of the students' strike, Bratislava worker Milan Malaska, for instance, says that he agrees with them and that the students only express dissatisfaction which is also shared by adults: "They are concerned about democracy in our country. They want people to be able to say what they think without being regarded as enemies of the republic." For the first time since the strikes broke out, PRAVDA also reports on the political demands of the striking students. In a report on a discussion meeting at a Bratislava university, PRAVDA correspondent Luba Pajtinkova notes that the students demanded the resignation of "political and Government representatives who are responsible for the current state of society" and declared that "their remaining in their posts exacerbates the present tense situation." Pajtinkova also mentions the students' demands for "pluralism in political life, free elections, the start of a serious social dialogue that must be accessible to everyone, except for those who would like to carry violence into it, and the making available of the mass media to all political and social movements taking part in current political events." The

Bratislava PRAVDA reports on the demonstrations also stress their "non-violent nature." A speaker at the Wenceslas Square demonstration is quoted as having said that "the participants in this rally are no criminal elements but the people of this country, which is borne out by its course."

Although statements and resolutions critical of the striking students and artists and condemning the plan to hold a general strike continue to be in the majority in Bratislava PRAVDA, there are also calls for "dialogue" with the demonstrators and strikers and expressions of "doubt whether the present composition of the highest party and state bodies makes it possible to find a positive way out" of the current situation.

Unlike in its issues of the preceding days, Bratislava PRAVDA of 23 November also does not publish any polemics with foreign media reports on the situation in Czechoslovakia.

24 Nov Coverage

AU2811125889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 November devotes the following items to Czechoslovakia's current internal political situation:

On page 1, Prague RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word report of a Czech Socialist Republic Government session; a 1,500-word report on a gathering of leading Czechoslovak People's Army officials which was addressed by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; and a 1,000-word report of a Revolutionary Trade Union Movement meeting; also, under the headlines "Among the Collective Workers of the Chyne United Agricultural Cooperative," "Strikes Are Not a Solution," and "Work for Restructuring," the newspaper carries interviews with farmers and workers on their current demands. Interviewees in each item stress that the striking students are in favor of socialism and that their demands are justified but strikes are not the solution to the country's problems. Passions and emotions should not become widespread.

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries the 300-word "RUDE PRAVO Editorial Office's Point of View" on the current situation; a 200-word statement by Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik, denying that he ordered police action against demonstrators; a 200-word interview with Jan Hubacek, a Czechoslovak Television official, entitled "Television Was Not Occupied," in which he denies that state security forces occupied television studios; a 200-word report on striking students' news conference; and a 1,250-word report from Bratislava and Plzen under the headline "Peace for Creative Work." This last item reports on Jaroslav Kopacek, leading secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Regional Committee in Plzen who made a speech in which he "criticized the mass information media's approach, an approach which, mostly one-sidedly and in a biased manner, condemns the order enforcement units' course of action. He openly admitted that, under the press' influence, some Communists are being towed along in the wake of events." Page 2 also carries a 120-word report of Ivan Knotek, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, receiving a delegation of workers from Chomutov and a 100-word report on Jan Fojtik, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, addressing a joint session of the Czech and Slovak journalists' unions.

On page 3, under the headline "From Statements, Points of View, and Letters," RUDE PRAVO carries a 6,000-word item on the current situation. The majority of letters from individuals, working collectives, social organizations, Communists, and non-party members severely criticize the security forces' intervention against striking students on 17 November and demand that the events be objectively evaluated. The statement issued by the CPCZ organization in the Charles University Faculty of Natural Sciences declares, among other things: "We think that due to the leadership's wait-and-see policy to date, the CPCZ will find itself in internal party crisis and in international isolation." The statement adds: "Therefore, we demand the resignation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government. Its continuance in vital party and state functions threatens the very existence of the party." Other statements disagree with strike action as a means of resolving the country's problems and instead are in favor of dialogue. Chaos, demonstrations, and strikes are not wanted.

On page 5, under the headline "Emotions Prevail Over Common Sense," RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word article by Frantisek Cinger on a protest by members of the Czech Writers Association against documents issued by their leadership the previous day. The leadership had adopted two documents on the current situation. The first concerned the events of 17 November in Prague and the second was called "On the Topical Task of the Writer in the Current Situation." Among other things, the writers' statement says: "We, Czech writers and members of the Czech Writers Association, declare with all our resolve that we do not agree with this second document. We consider it to be unacceptable buck-passing that the committee has adopted two documents which contradict each other in many ways...." The statement continues: "It is obvious that the Czech Writers Association Committee is not competent to further represent the writers' front and that it merely speaks for itself, therefore, it does not have our trust." However, according to Michal Cernik, chairman of the Czech Writers Association: "The committee has expressed its point of view on the events of 17 November. Disagreement with the second document is an understandable matter of opinion, particularly at the moment when emotions prevail over common sense." Cernik adds that "the current party leadership is experiencing a profound crisis because it underestimated the long intensifying problems in all social spheres." Cinger concludes his article by claiming that "the situation

which arose out of resistance to the police intervention is changing into something completely different. Into chaos that is supposed to resolve the issue of political power and frustrate the country's further socialist development."

On page 8, under the headline "The Dialogue Will Continue," RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word article on a meeting between Miroslav Toman, Czech Socialist Republic first deputy premier, and students from the Agricultural University in Prague. Under the headline "Difficult Discussions," the paper carries a 600-word article on a meeting between Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, and workers at the CKD Lokomotivka Enterprise in Prague. It also carries a 500-word Jan Kliment article entitled "In Honor of the Archbishop of Prague".

CPCZ CC Session Reported

AU2711161789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 November on page 1 carries a 2,800-word report on the extraordinary session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 24 November.

It opens with a summary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report delivered by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, followed by a report on the participants in the debate that followed Jakes' speech before noon.

Then follows a list of names of participants in the first part of the afternoon debate.

The report goes on to say that that in the second part of the debate in the afternoon the following members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee took part: Jiri Klima, rector of the Czech College of Technology, Prague; Vladimir Kunovjanek, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee, Prague; Miroslava Nemcova, chairwoman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Womens Union; Miroslav Huscava, miner of the Ostrava-Karvina Mines' Construction; Jan Zelenka, Vladimir Kocandrle, director of the Institute of Clinical and Experimental Medicine, Prague (as published); Vladimir Mlynar, rector of the Mining College, Ostrava; Frantisek Stafa, deputy chairman of the Czech Statistical Office; Jirina Svorcova, actress of the Theater Na Vinohradech; Michal Stefanak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department; Jan Theis, bus driver, Pardubice; Karel Beranek, staff member of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Zdenek Ceska, rector of the Charles University.

Then follows a report on Jakes' resignation and on the election of Karel Urbanek to replace him as CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary, and a report listing the participants in the debate in the evening.

The daily carries the "Resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee" as a separate item.

25 Nov Coverage

AU2811175389

[Editorial Report] In addition to its coverage of the extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee on 24 November, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 November carries the following items on the current domestic political situation in the country:

On pages 1 and 2, it carries a 700-word roundup on rallies held in Prague and other places in the Republic on the preceding day, with a report on the Wenceslas Square rally mentioning addresses by Alexander Dubcek, Vaclav Havel, and Charter 77 activists Vlasta Chramostova and Marta Kubisova, and without reporting on the content of these addresses.

On page 1, it carries a 400-word CTK report on a statement by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Czech Socialist Republic, disproving claims by Josef Blahoz, director of the Institute of State and Law of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, published by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and SVOBODNE SLOVO on the preceding day, according to which the 17 November police action ought to be investigated by military prosecuting agencies, rather than by the Office of the Prosecutor General.

Also on page 1, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 100-word CTK denial of an AFP report about Defense Minister Vaclavik's hospitalization and a 500-word "kj"-signed report on an extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

Reporting on the discussion at the session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the RUDE PRAVO report mentions that several speakers dissociated themselves from some statements made at the Wenceslas Square rally, from the balcony of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party headquarters, such as Vaclav Havel's claim that "the Civic Forum is the only representative of the civic public." The RUDE PRAVO report also mentions the resolution of the socialist party's meeting, which demanded, inter alia "equal rights and equal chances for all citizens and political parties," "consistent respect for human, political, and civil rights, free elections, complete and timely supply of information to the public through the media," as well as "the formation of a government of national consensus until democratic and free elections are held."

On page 2, under the headline "An Absolutely Frank Debate," RUDE PRAVO publishes interviews, totaling 1,500 words, with striking students of the Faculty of Law of Charles University. The students criticize the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) for having "misused" its leading role in the National Front by using

the National Front member organizations as a "transmission belt" and by "suppressing initiative from below." Asked whether they do not perceive the danger of "antisocialist expressions" in the present situation, one of the students replies that "first we must become clear about what is a socialist expression in the conduct of people, and only then can we talk about what is antisocialist." He is seconded by another student, who says that students have asked many times "what is socialist and what is not," but, so far, have never been allowed to discuss these questions at seminars on Marxism- Leninism. Confronted with the objection that some of them seek "confrontation," one of the students replies that if there are extremist expressions among students, it is because of "the present leadership's rejection of dialogue," as well as because of the information policy of some media, including RUDE PRAVO. Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 700-word "lou"-signed article on a meeting between representatives of the striking students and Czech Minister of Education Jana Synkova. The author notes that the minister promised to "organize a joint roundtable, to also be attended by representatives of independent initiatives."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word report on a statement issued by the Prague party organization on the eve of the CPCZ Central Committee extraordinary session; the 200-word letter from the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation to President Husak, asking for the release of persons who had been sentenced on charges of "incitement" and other offenses against the state and social system; a 20-word CTK report on the presentation of the Olof Palme prize to Vaclav Havel in Prague on 24 November; a 200-word interview with an official of the Postal Newspaper Subscription Service, in which he denies "reports that have appeared in Prague" that the delivery of the daily press is being obstructed; and a 200-word "vh"-signed commentary, which accuses Pavel Pechacek, "correspondent of Radio Free Europe in the CSSR," of having "lied" when he claimed in a 24 November broadcast that "on Thursday [23 November], completely unknown people appeared on the television screen, who had not been seen before." The commentary names the moderators and announcers who spoke on Czechoslovak Television that day, claiming that all of them are well known.

On pages 2 and 3, RUDE PRAVO also publishes the opinions of workers on the present situation. While some of them support the students' demands for "positive changes in our society," they express their disagreement with the planned general strike. On page 5, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 3,000-word roundup of statements and resolutions received by RUDE PRAVO the preceding day. While some of them (including resolutions of party organizations) express sympathy for the students and declare their support for the general strike, other resolutions and statements criticize the "well-organized public activities by the enemies of socialism, who dexterously manipulate the young generation," "resolutely protest against the disruption of calm and public order," and "demand the unity of all honest working people in the struggle against antisocialist forces."

A statement issued by members of a National Security Corps (SNB) unit from Hradec Kralove, for example, says: "Many of our members experienced the years of crisis in 1968-69, when the security forces became the target of attacks. At present, too, there are attacks on SNB members, their wives receive threats of physical liquidation, and their children at school are in disgrace. Is this democracy?" The Hradec Kralove policemen appeal to the media "not to give space to people whose aim is to liquidate socialism." The "tendentious orientation of the mass information media," especially of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and SVOBODNE SLOVO, is also criticized in other statements. Several resolutions by party organizations criticize the passivity of the party leadership in the face of the present situation and its privileges. Communists from the Praga factory in the capital, for example, say that in order to "regain and strengthen trust" in the CPCZ, leading party and state representatives must also be "guided by Marxist-Leninist principles in their private lives" and they suggest that "state sanatoriums and special shops for only a selected group of functionaries be abolished." RUDE PRAVO, too, is criticized in some statements because, as one of these statements notes, "it does not provide sufficient scope for the expression of views differing from those of the party leadership."

On page 7, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 1,700-word roundup of foreign media reactions to developments in Czechoslovakia. The London correspondent reports, for example, that "The INDEPENDENT reported on Rudolf Hegenbart's article in RUDE PRAVO [of 23 November] and described its author as 'an official capable of leading the party toward reforms.'" The Budapest correspondent reports on Hungarian party leader Rezso Nyers' reply in NEPSZABADSAG to Alexander Dubcek's and Oldrich Cernik's letter sent to him earlier this year. On page 8, RUDE PRAVO reports on expressions of support for the demands of the students among Czechoslovak athletes. A statement by the ice-hockey federation, for example, demands "fundamental cadre changes at crucial posts" and a "democratic administration of our society."

Letters, statements, and interviews with workers, in which the most varied assessments of the present situation are expressed, reports on meetings of various political bodies, and detailed descriptions of discussion meetings and rallies held in various parts of the country are also published in Bratislava PRAVDA on 25 November. On page 3, Bratislava PRAVDA also carries a 1,700-word statement by members of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, which, for the first time since the beginning of the unrest earlier this month, calls for a reassessment of 1968, including August 1968.

U.S. Reinterpretation of Assassination Criticized

AU2811172789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[Klaus Steininger editorial: "Who Relies on Murder?"]

[Text] "The Bush administration has reinterpreted the President's order, which has prohibited U.S. authorities from participating in covert activities to kill politicians," THE WASHINGTON POST wrote recently. U.S. Intelligence Service Chief William Webster reportedly stressed that in the future his office can support "attempts to remove a foreign leader" even if this person is killed in the process "because of unpredictable unfortunate circumstances."

Specifically, Webster is referring to Panama's General Noriega, who became the target of the United States when he decided to think of his country's national interests after following some wrong tracks. Webster bitterly complained about the failure of the anti-Noriega action of 3 October. This putsch turned into a debacle mainly because its leaders "planned to do it without U.S. help," by "carrying out an old-fashioned coup during which people should not be harmed." "Their first big mistake was the attempt to make Noriega resign peacefully instead of killing him or handing him over to the United States," TIME wrote.

It has been reported that the CIA leadership asked the White House to reinterpret the ban on murder, which was imposed by President Ford in 1976 for the first time—after highly embarrassing revelations about planned attacks on Congo's Premier Lumumba, Iraq's President Qasem, and Cuba's head of state Castro. Webster stressed that he had urged a decision so that his agents could "go to the outer limits of their authority."

"Bush aides say that the revision will permit help to be given to rebels who agree with Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr: If you attack a king, you have to kill him," NEWSWEEK revealed. The magazine stressed that on Washington's Capitol Hill there is the view that Ford's order "never tied the hands of the CIA anyway." Even though President Reagan's order No. 12,333 also prohibited political murders, Al-Qadhdhafi's residence in Tripoli was bombed in April 1986. At that time, asked about the possibility that the Libyan revolution leader might have been killed, Reagan answered cynically: "None of us would have shed any tears if this had happened."

"Yesterday Al-Qadhdhafi, today Noriega—this might not be a bad thing," TIME wrote. And THE LOS ANGELES TIMES reported that President Bush has ordered the CIA to provide $3 million for a new putsch against Panama's general.

The revelations quoted by us are not perhaps statements by people who are running amok. They reflect the official U.S. state policy. No commentary by us is better able to characterize this policy than the originators and advocates of the above-mentioned "reinterpretation" have done themselves.

Krenz Sends Messages to Gorbachev, Bush

LD2811183189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz expects the forthcoming Soviet-American meeting to lead to powerful new impulses for speedy and comprehensive disarmament negotiations and a fundamental switch to positive aspects in international politics.

In personal messages to Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, the GDR head of state refers both to the process of renewal of socialist society introduced in the GDR and current problems in international, particularly European, relations.

Reaction to Kohl's 10-Point Program

Krenz Comments

LD2811202789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1945 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—In an interview on First German Television today, Egon Krenz rejected preconditions for negotiations between the FRG and the GDR.

Asked about his attitude to a German confederation, the SED [Socialist Unity Party] general secretary said: "If one elaborates on the word confederation and elaborates it in such a way that it is based on the existence of two independent, sovereign German states, then all issues can be discussed." However, German unity is not on the agenda.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl submitted a 10-point program for the creation of confederative structures in the Bundestag today.

With reference to the introduction of market economy structures in the GDR described by Kohl as a precondition for economic aid, Krenz said that his country is ready to work with the FRG but is not ready to have prerequisites or conditions imposed on it. This will be decided by the people of the GDR.

Government Reacts

LD2811200189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1859 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer stated the following on the "10-Point-Program on Germany policy" set out before the Bundestag by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl today:

Such statements not only bypass realities, but can lead very easily to irritations as they disregard the sovereignty and independence of both German states as established both in the Basic Treaty and in the Final Acts of Helsinki.

A starting point for relations between the GDR and the FRG should be mutual regard, and respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and equality. "Reunification" is not on the agenda, and no one in East or West seriously desires a change in the European balance. Stability in the relations between both German states is a decisive precondition for security and stability in Europe.

With regard to the reference by the federal chancellor to self- determination, the overwhelming majority of our people—as the appeal from Christa Wolf, Stefan Heym, and other public figures shows—are saying that it is concerned with the renewal of a sovereign, socialist GDR. This is an expression of the right to self-determination which should be noted.

As far as the federal chancellor's proposals for cooperation with the GDR are concerned, they provide interesting starting points for negotiations which are also seen by the GDR Government.

This also applies to the ideas concerning the possibility of forming joint commissions, which could contribute to the shaping of the treaty-based community proposed by Prime Minister Hans Modrow.

It should, however, be pointed out that in connection with the shaping of such a treaty-based community, the GDR Government chief has, in the first instance, named the spheres of peace safeguarding and disarmament, themes evidently not envisaged by Federal Chancellor Kohl for this treaty-based community.

The GDR also noted with interest that Mr Kohl spoke of "confederative structures," whereby he avoided stating clearly and equivocally that this could only be a confederation between two sovereign states.

In this connection, it should also be noted that certain apodictic demands addressed to the GDR which are used to force an open door are superfluous. The legislative plan adopted by the Council of Ministers removes the basis of these demands from the other side.

CDU Chairman Comments

LD2811144889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere has described the Federal Republic's 10-point plan on European and German integration, in a first statement to ADN, as an interesting concept, which combines significant elements of his own ideas.

He warned, however, against rigid political planning.

Confederative structures between the two German states must be incorporated into the pan-European process and guaranteed from the social and ecological viewpoint as far as is advisable for swift disarmament.

NDPD Offers View

LD2811144289 Hamburg DPA in German 1236 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] in the GDR "sees the possibility of a confederation for the future of relations between the two German states in the hoped for European home." Reunification, unification or German unity cannot be on the political agenda in the process of radical democratic change, a report in the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG states today. A confederation, however, "could spur on our GDR citizens' national identity, national thinking, and spirit of the fatherland, to peaceful competition in the good-neighborly juxtaposition of the two sovereign Germanys."

CDU Urges Apology for Invasion of CSSR

LD2811181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1511 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] have demanded a resolution from the GDR People's Chamber to express the support of the supreme people's representative body in the GDR for the process introduced in the CSSR, and to apologize to the CSSR people for the involvement of troops of the GDR National People's Army, in the framework of the Warsaw Pact, in crushing the Prague Spring of 1968. CDU members have submitted a motion to this effect to the People's Chamber party group.

Such a step was a moral obligation, independent of the necessary examination of details and the historical context. The citizens of the GDR and the CSSR have the right to an admission of guilt from the deputies of the People's Chamber.

As the CDU People's Chamber party group told ADN further, numerous executives and members have expressed their sympathy, in telegrams and letters to the Secretariat of the main executive and the CDU Parliamentary Party group with the efforts of the people in the CSSR to achieve a democratic reshaping of the social conditions.

Gerlach Assesses CSSR Events

LD2411110489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpt] A lot of world attention is being paid to the situation in Czechoslovakia—as also confirmed by reports by our foreign correspondents.

Our correspondent in Berlin, Slavomir Malickai, asked Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, to assess the most recent developments in our country.

[Begin Gerlach recording in German with superimposed Czech translation] I would like to say first that we follow

the present developments with certain concern. I personally hope that after the latest speech by Milos Jakes and talks held by Ladislav Adamec, the situation will calm down. In this context, I place the greatest importance on the federal premier's words that force will not be used against demonstrators again. In this way, a possibility of starting a peaceful dialogue in Czechoslovakia emerges. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Recent Changes in Bulgaria

AU2311110989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Nov 89 p 1

[Golo Schmidt commentary: "New Start in Bulgaria Too"]

[Text] Since last Friday [17 November] glasnost and perestroyka have been fanning their fire also in Bulgaria. On Saturday there were again demonstrations. In Sofia alone 50,000 people took to the streets to express their desire for a democratically renewed, humane socialism.

Even though until now there has appeared to be far-reaching equanimity among the Bulgarians concerning state affairs, the political new start is not quite so surprising. Things have been smoldering below the surface for years. However, it was obviously necessary to first depose Todor Zhivkov so as to be able to vent the accumulated dissatisfaction.

Now long-suppressed demands are being openly expressed: The people no longer want to let themselves be governed by authorities, which are far removed from them. New elections for parliament are demanded. And: an end to demagoguery, to corruption; the culprits are to be put on trial!

Who it is that is meant by this—among others—has been known since Friday at the latest, when Zhivkov was mercilessly taken to task at the National Assembly session: One deputy described him as an autocratic ruler, who worked for his own pocket.

However, how could such an abuse of office occur? This is a question that is also being asked in our country and which can probably only be answered after a thorough analysis of the political structures. In any case, Bulgaria needs profound reforms. Petur Mladenov, upon whom all hopes rest and who is now both general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and head of state, has already announced them.

Police Approve 23,126 Emigration Requests

LD2811120689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1101 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Internal Affairs Ministry spokesman reported that the German People's Police has issued a total of 11,373,649 visas for tourist traffic and 23,126 approvals for emigration from the GDR between 9 November and 0800 [0700 GMT] this morning.

FRG Citizen Tried on Charges of Espionage

AU2611161789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Espionage Trial at Berlin Higher Military Court"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The charge against FRG citizen Peter Sch. made on Tuesday [21 November] at the first military criminal bench of the Berlin Higher Military Court is espionage against the interests of the GDR. At the beginning, the military prosecutor noted that the defendant misused his position as inland shipping agent on the transit route from the FRG to Berlin (West) to reconnoiter nine training sites of the National People's Army and the Western Group of Soviet Forces and to convey the results of his observations to the FRG's Federal Intelligence Service [BND].

The collection of evidence showed that Peter Sch. had used a total of at least 5 trips since February 1987 to study the location and condition of troop exercise sites at the Elbe and Havel Rivers and to continuously register the activities, the military technology, and the number of armed forces. In addition, he reported on the control regime at the border checkpoints.

The defendant did not deny the facts. On the contrary: Already in the course of the preliminary investigations he had contributed with his statements to uncovering the truth. The inquiries about the personality of the 24-year-old man provided the image of a resolute young man. Graduation from the upper division of an elementary school, boatswain's certificate, navigator's certificate, then in 1987 the certificates for the runs between Hamburg and Berlin.

This was also the time of the first contacts with the BND. Liaison man "Horn" told Peter Sch. that the BND's attention had been called to him through administrative assistance [Amtshilfe]. The BND was precisely informed about Peter Sch.'s debts resulting from, among other things, loans of about DM10,000. His monthly income amounted to about DM2,500. In this situation, the DM300 monthly salary and the additional DM80 for every trip were incentives.

The military expert who had been called to testify, noted that the reports conveyed by Sch. could be used as partial information for more far-reaching assessments and evaluations by hostile intelligence services. The public prosecutor noted that, since the defendant received from the BND a total of DM11,060 for his work, he had committed the crime of intentional espionage both from the objective and subjective viewpoints. It is an expression of the rule of law, if the GDR acts with all legal means against such machinations.

Nevertheless, the public prosecutor cited reasons which speak in favor of a sentence which exceeds only slightly the minimum sentence of 5 years. The BND had mercilessly exploited the financial problems of the defendant and had abused him. The frank admission of his guilt

was also positively assessed as an expression of understanding and repentance. The public prosecutor called for a 7-year prison term.

The facts are clear, no big words are needed, the counsel for the defense admitted. Peter Sch. was a hired and paid agent of the BND. Nevertheless, he asked not to exceed the minimum penalty, in particular because of the reasons cited by the public prosecutor in favor of the defendant.

The trial took place in the presence of a representative of the FRG's Permanent Representation in the GDR. The sentence will be announced tomorrow, Thursday [23 November].

Commentary Criticizes Preconditions for FRG Aid

AU2511192189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 89 p 1

[Thomas Muenstermann commentary: "If Only..."]

[Text] The FRG Government, it is assured, is ready to support the reform process in the GDR and to grant comprehensive aid to its economy and citizens. Minister of the Chancellory Seiters spoke of "results" which have to be striven for and "which are both in the interest of the GDR people and in the interest of the people in the FRG." A constructive word.

However, one can also hear different tones from Bonn. Aid yes, but only if.... If the reforms are completed. As if this could be done between today and tomorrow—one only has to think of the restructuring of the economy. Thus, does Bonn want to help in this process or wait and then "reward" us for it at some time in the future? Aid only if, as Chancellor Kohl stated, the GDR does not carry out its economic reform but gives it up and takes over the "social market economy" of the FRG as a precondition for an upswing. Only if the borders are finally abolished. His, Kohl's, concept is the formation of a unified German state.

Thus, aid to the GDR only if it has given up itself as a sovereign socialist state on German soil? It is hardly possible to deprive the term aid of its positive content in a more brutal way.

Modrow Receives Hesse Minister-President

LD2511001689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1836 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin Dr Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, met with Dr Walter Wallmann, minister-president of the FRG Federal Land of Hesse, for talks at the latter's request. The two politicians described their meeting to journalists as useful and frank.

Dr Modrow referred to the possibilities of economic cooperation set out in the GDR Government's program, which ranged from capital transfer to joint ventures. A start has been made on discussing these with Hesse enterprises, too. Asked about the necessary legislative preconditions he said that the GDR Government presented an extensive list of laws which are to be introduced, which now have to be classified by the People's Chamber Presidium. He reckoned that a start to the forming of joint ventures could be made as soon as 1990. At present there is the impression that the Federal Government "is tarrying a little." The GDR government head expressed the hope that the talks with Dr Wallmann will make a contribution to speedy and rapid progress.

During the discussion a wealth of topics was discussed, Dr Wallmann stated. "Varying positions" were presented. The Christian Democratic Union politician announced his intention of briefing the federal chancellor about the meeting. Speaking on regional town-twinnings between the Federal Land of Hesse and Bezirke in Thuringia, on which Modrow also spoke positively, Wallmann stated that in this way Hesse could make a constructive contribution toward an improvement in intra-German relations.

FRG's Ruehe Holds Talks in East Berlin

LD2411151189 Hamburg DPA in German 1411 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Christian Democratic Union [CDU] General Secretary Volker Ruehe has called in East Berlin for the GDR to completely abandon socialism. If there are no fundamental economic and social reforms in the GDR, a wave of refugees will again arise heading for the Federal Republic, the CDU politician told journalists in East Berlin on Friday. He met there for a first unofficial encounter with the chairman of the GDR-CDU, Lothar de Maiziere.

It is not individual Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] politicians such as former economics expert Guenter Mittag and ex- GDR state and party head Erich Honecker—who are now being pilloried—who are fundamentally responsible for the present situation. It is "the system" and those responsible for it are to blame. The economic system in the GDR is "just as wrong as it is in Poland or the Soviet Union." The GDR has profited to date from intra-German trade. It is not a matter, however, of "squandering" money in the area of economic cooperation and the aid for the GDR being discussed at the moment. The Federal Republic does not wish to make a "false, bad system" a "little more bearable." In Ruehe's view, federal citizens will not understand it if the Federal Republic prolongs the "life breath" of a false system.

Accompanied by the West Berlin CDU party and parliamentary group head Eberhard Diepgen, Ruehe said that the CDU's political objective remains reunification of both German states. The next step is free elections in the GDR.

Ruehe said about his first talk with the GDR-CDU that it was an initial assessment of the new leadership. The federal CDU does not wish to be fixed on one interlocutor, however, but will work together with all those committed to reforms in the GDR.

The GDR-CDU chairman said after the talk that it is now a matter of defining anew the concept of socialism. He spoke in support of continuing contacts with the federal CDU.

Prime Minister of Hesse, Walter Wallmann (CDU) conducted on Friday in East Berlin an exchange of opinions with the Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, and Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe. In the afternoon, the CDU politician met with representatives of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] and was informed about their program. Wallmann also spoke with de Maiziere, who is also GDR deputy premier.

EC Commission Official To Visit in Dec

AU2611155289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Vice President of EC Commission Will Visit the GDR at the Beginning of December"]

[Text] Brussels (ADN)—Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EC Commission and EC commissioner for foreign affairs, will visit the GDR at the beginning of December, an EC spokesman told journalists in Brussels on Monday [20 November]. During the talks, the new elements in the GDR's policy toward the EC will certainly also be discussed. So far, preliminary talks about a negotiation mandate have dealt only with a trade agreement. However, the new GDR Government is striving for an agreement on trade and cooperation, the spokesman stated, referring to Premier Modrow's message to the French EC president. Such an agreement would go far beyond trade and would comprise, among other things, cooperation in industry, environment, transportation, as well as science and technology.

Government Greets EC Readiness To Cooperate

LD2311164589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government of the GDR greets the readiness of the EC to extend cooperation with the socialist states and is prepared to create long-term cooperative relations of a new type with the EC and with its member states. This was stated by the spokesman of the GDR Government, Wolfgang Meyer, on 23 November in Berlin. He answered questions from several journalists on the EC special summit and on its attitude towards the socialist states which are in political and economic upheaval. Meyer said that the GDR had followed this special meeting with interest and attention as it had dealt with the EC's attitude toward East-West cooperation in particular as well relations with the GDR. Among the realities which are to be regarded are respect for existing borders in Europe and the existence of two German states.

Memo to EC

AU2211134489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

["Text" of GDP memorandum to the EC: "Ready for Political Dialogue with the EC"; signed by GDR Premier Hans Modrow and passed on to all EC members via Francois Mitterrand, current president of the EC Council]

[Text] "The heads of state and government of the EC will be convened for a meeting on 18 November. According to reports an exchange of opinions on the situation in Europe, including the developments in the GDR, is to take place.

"This is why I would like to convey the GDR's viewpoint on some topical problems to the government of the French Republic, which is currently heading the EC, and to request that these be passed on to the other members of the EC.

"A wide popular movement has initiated the beginning of the comprehensive renewal of socialist society in the GDR. The open, critical, and even tough dialogue between the people, parliament, the government, and the parties is based on a deep national understanding for the importance of stability for a state in central Europe.

"The contents and objectives of this social reshaping are profound reforms of the political system, the resolute and far-reaching shaping of the socialist law-governed state, and a comprehensive economic reform.

"In a debate on 13 November all parliamentary groups of the GDR declared their determination and readiness to create in a short time the urgently required legal conditions for extended democracy, freedom of opinion, freedom of information, and freedom of assembly, for legal security, the rule of law, and the freedom of movement. Most importantly, this includes a law on free, general, and secret elections.

"Initial steps of great significance have already been taken on the new path. Within only a few days several millions of GDR citizens already benefited from the right to comprehensive freedom of travel. The adopted regulations are not of a temporary nature. The necessary, comprehensive legal regulations will respond to it. Through a fundamental change of state border regulations the GDR has opened up widely. The people of Europe are freely approaching one another here.

"The GDR is aware of its responsibility for peace and security in Europe. It remains a predictable and reliable partner in the joint efforts of all states to create a European state of peace and stability.

"A renewed society, in which basic and human rights are comprehensively enjoyed, determines the GDR's foreign policy.

"The GDR considers cooperative security as a system of political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian relations between the states in Europe a desirable objective, to which it is unreservedly committed. It will implement all obligations that are contained in the Helsinki Final Act and in other CSCE documents, both at home and in its relations with other states. In this sense it is in favor of overcoming the division of Europe, without overcoming the differing social orders.

"A common European home needs stable, predictable relations between the GDR and the FRG. Their existence within the current borders and their continued membership in the alliances remain a basic element for European security. The neighbors of the two German states, but also the other European states, must not live in insecurity and uncertainty.

"The GDR is deeply convinced of the necessity of a new type of cooperation between East and West. It faces the challenges that result from this objective. This includes the recognition of the dynamic development of the economic and political integration process as an important element for developing a common European home. In the context of its own interests, and to promote all-European processes, the GDR is ready to cooperate with the institutions of West European integration, including the EC. The GDR regards the EC's single market both as a challenge and an opportunity. It does not want to be a critical observer of such developments, but a partner in a cooperation that is of advantage to all. This is linked to the hope that it can contribute to gradually overcoming and not deepening the economic and technological division of Europe.

"The GDR would like to develop its relations with the EC swiftly, cooperatively, and constructively. As has been stressed several times toward the EC, this is an offer to comprehensively shape cooperation with the EC and its institutions. We are ready for political dialogue on questions of security and peace in Europe.

"Consultations with the European Political Cooperation Organization might become a normality. We want cooperation in the fields of the economy, trade, science and technology, environmental protection, transport, fishery, standardization, and statistics, as well as in humanitarian spheres, culture, education, and information.

"Negotiations on a trade agreement which responds to the demands in the field of economic cooperation ought to be established as soon as possible.

"The freedom of travel for GDR citizens raises the question of how the possibility to travel can be extended to all EC countries. Finally, I would like to remind you of the many and diverse proposals the GDR made toward the representatives of the EC and the European Parliament to discuss questions of the economy, politics, democracy, the law-governed state, and human rights."

New Draft of Travel Law Released

LD2811191989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has submitted a new draft travel law to the People's Chamber for consideration. The People's Chamber Presidium has stipulated that discussion of the draft should be included in the proposed agenda of the People's Chamber on 1 Decmeber for a first reading.

The new draft has the following text:

Law

on travel by citizens

of the German Democratic Republic

to foreign countries

- Travel Law -

of the.....[ellipses as received]

Art. 1

Sphere of Application

The stipulations of this law apply to private trips abroad by citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

Principles

Art. 2

Each citizen of the German Democratic Republic has the right at all times to travel abroad and to receive a passport of the German Democratic Republic for this purpose. He has the right to enter the German Democratic Republic at all times.

Art. 3

(1) Minors up to the completion of their 14th year (children) can only travel abroad accompanied by parents or legal guardians or persons authorized by them.

(2) Children and young persons up to the completion of their 18th year can be entered into the passport of parents or legal guardians.

(3) Young persons between the completion of their 14th and 18th year may receive a passport on the application of parents or legal guardians. For travel by children accompanied by authorized persons a minor's passport will be issued on the application of the parent or legal guardian.

Art. 4

(1) The passport is valid for 10 years. It may be extended on application by the citizen.

(2) The citizen may apply for a passport with a shorter period of validity.

(3) Fees in accordance with the legal regulations will be charged for the issuing of a passport, extension of the period of validity, and for reissue following loss.

Art. 5

Entry and transit visas required by other states for private trips must be acquired by the citizens.

Art. 6

Filing an Application and Processing Times

(1) The issue of a passport must be applied for at the responsible office of the German People's Police by means of a form.

(2) The passport should be issued within 3 weeks—and in urgent cases within 3 working days.

Refusal of a Passport and Withdrawal of a Passport

Art. 7.

The issue of a passport may only be refused if investigative proceedings have been commenced against the citizen on account of suspicion of a willfully committed criminal act, if criminal proceedings are not yet concluded, or if a punishment has yet to be served.

Art. 8

(1) The passport may be withdrawn from a citizen for a temporary period if:

a) Reasons for the refusal of a passport under Art. 7 exist,

b) The citizen pursues paid employment abroad, without being instructed to do so by the state or without permission, and finances his standard of living in the GDR completely or in part from the income thus gained, or uses this income for speculative aims or for other illegal acts,

c) The citizen seriously contravenes regulations under customs or foreign currency law.

(2) The length of the withdrawal in the case of a) is determined by the requirements of the measures in accordance with Art. 7. In the other cases the withdrawal may be for a definitely determined period, up to a maximum of 2 years.

Art. 9

The issue of a passport following a passport refusal in accordance with Art. 7, and the return of a passport following temporary withdrawal in accordance with Art. 8, takes place following application once the period of the withdrawal has expired or once the reasons leading to the passport refusal or withdrawal no longer apply.

Art. 10

Decision

(1) Decisions in accordance with Articles 7 to 9 are taken by the head of the passport and registration office of the People's Police District [kreis] Office responsible for the main or secondary domicile of the citizen.

(2) A decision which restricts the rights of the citizen as laid out in this law must be conveyed to the citizen in writing and justified in factual and legal terms. It must include a warning of the citizen's right to appeal.

Appeal and Review by the Courts

Art. 11

(1) An appeal is admissible against a decision reached under this law and the legal regulations adopted for its implementation. The appeal has no suspensive power.

(2) The appeal must be submitted either in writing or verbally to the department in which the decision was made within a period of 2 weeks after receipt of the decision.

(3) The appeal must be settled within a week after submission. If the appeal is not allowed then it must be referred to the next highest head of the passport and registration office for decision within this period. The filer of the appeal is to be informed of this. The next highest head of the passport and registration office must make a final decision within a further week.

(4) The decision on the appeal is to be conveyed to the filer of the appeal in writing and must be justified in factual and legal terms.

Art. 12

(1) The citizen may apply to the court for reexamination, if his complaint has not been granted, of a decision in accordance with this law and of the legal regulations passed for its execution within 2 weeks following the receipt of the final decision.

(2) The court may decide on this matter itself.

Art. 13

Refusal of Exit

(1) If a decision was taken in accordance with Art. 7 or 8 to refuse a passport to a citizen or to withdraw it temporarily, the border control organs of the German Democratic Republic must refuse exit to this citizen.

(2) The border control organs are authorized to refuse exit temporarily if they establish facts which justify a temporary withdrawal of the passport. A decision in accordance with Art. 8 must be presented within 2 weeks.

Further Regulations

Art. 14

(1) Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic has the right to obtain means to pay for travel.

(2) The People's Chamber will decide each year on the amount of means to pay for travel to be made available to the citizens in the following year.

Art. 15

The stipulations of this law apply to stateless persons permanently domiciled in the German Democratic Republic.

Art. 16

Interim Stipulations

A personal identity card with a visa or authorization equivalent to a visa may be used temporarily for travel instead of a passport.

Final Stipulations

Art. 17

The legal regulations necessary for the implementation of this law are to be issued by the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic

Art. 18

(1) This law will come into force on the ..... [ellipses as received]

(2) At the same time the following will be revoked:

a) The decree of 30 November 1988 on travel abroad by citizens of the German Democratic Republic (Penal Code I, No. 25, p 271),

b) The first regulation of 14 March 1989 on the decree on travel abroad by citizens of the German Democratic Republic (penal Code I, No. 8, p 119).

Krenz Discusses SED Congress, Topical Problems

AU2811132389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Egon Krenz, general secretary of SED Central Committee and chairman of GDR State Council, by Wolfgang Spickermann in Berlin; date not given: "We Want Socialism In Which Only People Are Sovereign"]

[Text] ND: Comrade Krenz, the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will take place in 3 weeks. The first delegates have already been elected. In the basic organizations, at party aktiv meetings, and at delegates conferences, everywhere where comrades work, there is an intensive and often heated conflict of opinions on the character and scope of the party's renewal. In the end, the issue is a new understanding of the SED. What should be made clear by the extraordinary congress in this respect?

Krenz: The party congress will work out a thorough and honest analysis of the reasons, mistakes, and omissions, an analysis of how and why the deformations and dramatic wrong developments took place. Only this can be the basis for a profound renewal, for a new beginning. The delegates of the party congress face the task of making basic decisions about how the party intends to fulfill its tasks in the renewal of socialism in the GDR. A socialism, in which only the people are the sovereign—this is the core of the demands of the many mass actions these days. The fact that socialism is the work of all corresponds to the fundamental idea of the revolutionary workers movement since its founding more than 100 years ago. This corresponds to the theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Process of Renewal Has Started, Is Irreversible

ND: For this purpose, one needs a renewed party, new ways of thinking, and new political goals. What can this party look like?

Krenz: This is intensively discussed and quarreled about within the party at present. However, one can say: The process of renewal has started and is irreversible. As has been shown, only those comrades have a chance of being elected as delegates to the party congress who enjoy the trust of their comrades in the basic organizations and who have distinguished themselves by achievements, their own judgment, and personal integrity. This democratic character of the elections will most deeply characterize the party congress and, in the end, lead to a new Central Committee which is really based on the trust of the delegates and thus of the members. This will be a starting point for a considerably different cooperation between the members and the leadership of the party. The guarantees for this will be given by a new party statute, the fundamental principles of which have to be discussed and decided already at the extraordinary congress—as many comrades from the grass roots demand. This certainly includes—in my view— a limitation in time of terms of office at every level. After thorough public discussion of the available draft, the new statute itself can certainly be decided at the 12th congress, the date of which should be decided by the extraordinary congress.

Entire Truth Belongs on Table

ND: The deformations, which have characterized the administrative system of socialism in the GDR so far, included that inner-party democracy, as it is demanded in the SED statute, has hardly taken place for quite some time. What has to be changed in this respect?

Krenz: In the development of inner-party democracy, which is based on the basic organizations, the basis of the party, we see the chance that the comrades will decide

and support all party matters in the future. This includes that the democratic formation of opinion and will is free of any patronage.

The new statute has to guarantee this. What these guarantees will look like in detail can only be the result of the current discussion all through the party. Now and in the future it is necessary to make the treasure of ideas and proposals by the comrades effective to come to joint decisions for the unified actions of the party organizations, and to implement decisions, which we discussed collectively and taken by majority. If our party wants to prove its worth under the quickly changing social conditions as a party of the workers class and of members of other classes and strata, its unity will be indispensable in the future, too. But we must never again permit that the principle of unity, which is vital to us, is abused or leads to subservience to one person or to a small group of persons. Criticism and self-criticism must again belong to the basic norms of the party.

ND: Will there be a discussion of mistakes at the extraordinary congress when the reasons for the crisis in the country and the crisis of trust in the party are discussed?

Krenz: The term discussion of mistakes has been a taboo in our party. Even more: The leadership considered such a discussion as looking backward and as an obstacle to "advancing." In particular, over the past years, the pointing out and discussion of mistakes were absolutely undesirable. If mistakes were made, their reasons have to be analyzed—individually and collectively. Otherwise, the mistakes cannot be overcome and one is not protected from repeating them. Thus, the entire truth has to be put on the table. Which mistakes are the responsibility of individual persons? Which mistakes are the responsibility of the old Politburo? Which mistakes are the responsibility of the Central Committee? All comrades have a right to learn this; after all, they have had to accept the blame for many of these mistakes without being responsible or have slid into serious doubts and real anguish.

We are not a corrupt party. Many honest comrades feel their dignity injured and cheated out of their ideals by the old party leadership. They did their party work in the firm conviction of serving the people. Now they are held responsible for something which they did not do. Many honest party members have recently been subjected to frequent unjustified wrong accusations and slander. This hurts us very much. I thank all the more all those comrades who are tirelessly working for the goals of the party during these weeks. It is all the more necessary that we quickly reveal the mistakes that have been committed and accept the full truth.

Let us follow Lenin: "The behavior of a political party toward its mistakes is one of the most important and certain criteria for the seriousness of a party and for the real fulfillment of its duties toward its class and the working masses."

ND: The comrades of our party, and all citizens of our country, do not expect to get an answer to such questions just at the party congress; they have expected this for quite some time....

Krenz: The more these questions are cleared up over the next days and weeks, the more productive the discussions at the extraordinary congress in my view. At the order of the 10th Central Committee session, the Politburo has formed a commission, which is studying the reasons for and the personal responsibility for the current economic situation in the GDR. The Central Party Control Commission was also ordered at the 10th Central Committee Session to introduce appropriate measures against members of the old party leadership who have violated the party statute. The first results of these investigations and conclusions are already available and have been published by the Central Party Control Commission. Whoever has abused his function and has damaged the party's reputation will be held responsible, because it is not the millions of SED members who have discredited themselves but a number of their functionaries. Whoever has violated the law must be put on trial. Whoever has failed morally must account to the party and the people. Mistakes must be uncovered, its reasons must be eliminated, and reliable guarantees must be established so that past things can never recur. Here, too, the full truth must be put on the table as quickly as possible and the evil has to be eliminated at its roots.

Action Program Demands Free Elections, Local Self-Administration, Rule of Law

ND: The profound crisis of our party is not only a result of the deformations of the past years. In a recent television interview, you said that the evil of the 40 years of the GDR is the fact that it has not been possible to get rid of the Stalinist past, of the administration system of socialism. What has to be done in a generally different way in the future?

Krenz: Indeed, some reasons for the current acute crisis lie decades in the past. It was not possible to get away from the command system and to come to a democratic socialism, to a people's rule in the real Marxist sense. Here in the GDR, this system, which was burdened with the past, became ever more oppressive over the past years. This is the main reason for many basic mistakes and, ultimately, of the crisis of our society. The task to finally get away from the Stalinist past starts to permeate all fields of party work—from the ideological to the organizational to the cadre political field. The historians and sociologists have the duty to come to terms with the GDR's history.

Some basic positions have already been set down in our party's action program and are also part of the program of the GDR Government led by Hans Modrow. We are for an election law that guarantees free, general, democratic, and secret elections and public control of the elections at every stage. The SED is in favor of a local self-administration of the cities and communities, which

is based on communal ownership and guaranteed rights to dispose of material and financial assets. The issue is a socialist state based on the rule of law, which is based on basic and human rights and implements them in practice. The SED particularly advocates a revision and amendment of the GDR Constitution. If it were just a matter of changing the passage of Article 1, which sets down the leading role of the SED, no further debates would be necessary in our view. We are in favor of abolishing it. The progress of a party in the development of society is not announced by laws or declarations but can result only from work, achievements, and attitude. In this spirit, our party will constitute itself and set its tasks.

The working out of a modern concept of socialism has to be comprehensively discussed and debated in detail, not only in the SED but by and with all political forces of our country. However, it must be clear that there must not be and will not be a return to old conditions.

Party Program Must Determine Anew What Socialism Is

ND: Many comrades expect such conceptual goals from the new party program. This gives rise to the question of whether the term socialism must be determined anew in terms of contents?

Krenz: In my view—yes. A new understanding of socialism must free itself from falsified or pragmatically abused references to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. We must base ourselves on their original ideas. Our understanding of socialism must be derived from the will of the workers class and the entire people. It must be derived from the historical development of the German workers movement and from the experiences of the international workers movement. The determination of its characteristic qualities and requirements must be based on the insights and proposals of our sociologists.

What is necessary is a socialism that is oriented toward man, a modern socialism in a changed and still changing world. A new concept of socialism must not have the quality of whitewashing. It must be scientifically founded and practically feasible. It must serve the changing of life toward the better. And, it must express the nature of socialism as a humanistic alternative to capitalism. The discussion about this has started among many comrades and will certainly not be concluded at the extraordinary party congress.

ND: In connection with the renewal of socialism in the GDR, many comrades have repeatedly broached the topic of the relationship between the SED and the CPSU and often they regretted very much that our party has waited too long to express its standpoint on principled and methodological questions of perestroyka and glasnost. What is the exact relationship between the SED and the CPSU at present?

Efforts for Closer Cooperation With CPSU

Krenz: From our side, relations with the CPSU are characterized by sincere solidarity and honest efforts for closest possible cooperation. One need not discuss the enormous importance of the Soviet Union for our country—just think of the economy. However, I believe, above all, that today our party can gain a great deal of experience from Soviet restructuring—experience in the sense of successes as well as failures. The course of Soviet perestroyka, for instance, has some parallels with our renewal but, of course, also many differences, which result, among other things, from the national particularities.

ND: How much more productive this learning from each other might have been if such an approach had been pursued earlier....

Krenz: How true! I can only admire the Soviet comrades for the tact they displayed in dealing with us over the past 4 and ½ years. Because, let us not overlook: Since Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the office of general secretary, the Soviet comrades have looked with great hope and expectation, in particular also to the SED, and the mutual fertilizing effect in socialist restructuring could have been immeasurably larger for the Soviet Union and for the SED, if in our country the signs of the times had been recognized and the corresponding conclusions had been drawn. In this field, too, we feel today how hard the punishment of life is for those who ignore the demands of life. This is simply connected with the commands of common sense, which we have to bring to bear more strongly in the renewal of socialism both at home and abroad.

What we need—not least in the media, which are newly inspired and motivated by openness—is a constructive-critical, multifaceted, and varied view of the development questions of our time. For instance, I like very much what Mikhail Gorbachev recently recommended to the journalists at this meeting with the editorial team of PRAVDA: Better put lights on life instead of nagging about darkness all your life!

ND: The profound conceptual considerations about the future of our party, about the renewal of socialism in the GDR go hand in hand with escalated arguments about the daily problems and fall into a time of serious problems of the party. Has the SED not already lost many members on the path of renewal?

Krenz: Indeed, this process is taking place in a very contradictory and often painful way. Many comrades are leaving our ranks in disappointment. This certainly has various reasons. Some of them are embittered that their leadership has sometimes lied to them for quite some time concerning the situation in the country and the contents of reality of the party's policy. They are embittered that they were not taken seriously and that their words were worthless. They have lost much trust in their party. Others agree only hesitantly with the goals of the party, with its renewal, with the action program, with the

radical renewal of socialism. Still others stood on our side only as long as everything was calm, everything seemed to go smoothly, and they expected advantages. Under these circumstances, it was not difficult to support the party. Now when the storm is raging and steadfastness is necessary, they realize that they lack the strength for this. However, the most important issue probably is trust. It is necessary to win new trust through the renewal of our party.

The implementation of our action program calls for a new understanding for the tasks and methods of party work, a real new start in many fields. For us all matters are becoming more difficult and less comfortable.

However, it is remarkable that during these days new forces are joining our party and that young comrades are increasingly gaining responsible positions. We are encouraged by the fact that every step of renewal also opens up new possibilities, in particular to win young forces for our militant alliance.

ND: Over the past few days important Politburo decisions have been made for the implementation of the SED action program, for instance, the proposal to call a "roundtable."

"Roundtable" on Constitutional Reform, Other Questions

Krenz: This shows the consistency of our conviction that real socialism means to take into consideration the interests of the entire people and to bring about a consensus, a balance of interests in a democratic way where there are differences. Therefore, we are in favor of the political parties, which are united in the coalition government, meeting with other political forces of the country at such a "roundtable." The constitutional reform and the holding of free elections are among those important questions in our society which can be best discussed and implemented together.

ND: A serious deficiency in the past was the lack of communication between the party organizations and the party leadership. To establish a direct link during the so important stage of preparing the extraordinary party congress, an information and consultation center was established at the Central Committee last week, where comrades and party organizations present standpoints and demands, ask questions, or participate in panel discussions. One problem, which has been broached there, is the question of whether the SED is to remain in the enterprises with its basic organizations or whether its work will be limited to the residential areas in the future.

Krenz: Comrades are expressing differing views on this matter. The majority—and this is also the standpoint of the comrades of the Politburo and I emphatically stressed it during my visit to the Bergmann-Borsig State-Owned Enterprise on Wednesday [22 November]—is in favor of our party continuing to be organized in the enterprises as well as in the residential areas. As a party, which wants to effectively represent the interests of the workers class and also of other classes and strata, it cannot simply sneak out of the enterprises. We still consider ourselves as the party of the workers class, which is mainly concentrated in state-owned enterprises. The party cannot develop a social strategy for a modern socialism, cannot push ahead the radical renewal of socialism, cannot formulate its policy and implement it in life without being firmly anchored in the enterprises.

ND: Many comrades want to struggle. What is the most important thing now?

Krenz: First, I would like to encourage them in this attitude. If the party withdraws, it does not only lose itself but also our country. The comrades should stand together in solidarity, as it corresponds to the traditions of the revolutionary workers movement. In this process, they will gather around leaderships which have their trust. In these leaderships, there will be comrades which have stepped forward in the time of renewal and have distinguished themselves through dedication and competence. There will also be party members who bore responsibility in the past and have honestly worked for the interests of the workers. If we want to live up to our tasks in society, this must be done through solid work, initiative, and closeness to life. Issuing commands is not a way to increase the influence of our party again. Exemplary work and a morally unquestionable attitude, courting people and winning people—this is how we will build new trust. Our party members who have done their duty can look into people's eyes. They have the right to advance the renewal of socialism in our country. They will prove to be their best advocates.

Now It Is Necessary To Act Quickly and With Prudence

We are facing the enormous task of stabilizing production, supplies, and transportation in our republic, despite many difficulties, and to tap new forces wherever this is possible. It is necessary not to spare oneself, to organize initiatives, and to march ahead, if we talk about our party's ability to lead in everyday life. Now it is necessary to act quickly and with prudence. We party members must be the ones to offer good, constructive, well thought out proposals and varieties for solutions in all fields of life. For this purpose, the basic organizations need jointly worked out standpoints about what has to be tackled immediately in their sphere of work in the interest of stabilizing the economy and in the interest of the people. In this process, we ally with everyone who wants the same thing.

We comrades bear a special responsibility: To fulfill the demands of the day and, in this process, never to lose sight of the vital questions of socialism, of the goal of a better, democratic, socialist society, and of the safeguarding of peace.

The heated and dedicated discussions continue—among the comrades as well as among them and many citizens—in which the way to shape socialism in our country is argued about. Our comrades do best where

they contribute their opinion but also listen closely. Even in heated, and sometimes bitter, debates the feeling of social responsibility can be seen and constructive ideas are voiced. Nothing must be lost of this. We will find many with whom we can find a point of contact even if we do not completely agree with them.

Where We "Interfere" and Where We Do Not

ND: At some of the recent demonstrations banners voiced the demand that the SED should no longer "interfere" in the state, the economy, and in society.

Krenz: Our party has already stated publicly: We want to disentangle party, state, and economy. We have said that not only Article I but the entire GDR Constitution has to be changed. We are in favor of the People's Chamber, as the supreme people's representative body, and the government, which is accountable to it and only to it, never again being infringed upon their sovereign rights by "orders" from the party leadership. The same goes for the economy. This is the clear position of our party. Concerning these issues, the abovementioned demands are already superfluous.

When our party continues to play a role in state and economy then this role means that our comrades work there, whether as ministers or mayors, as combine directors or as casters, and actively advocate the policy of their, our party.

This is one thing. The other, however, is the demand that the SED should not "interfere" in society, that is, social life. In this respect, one has to say very clearly that we will interfere with all our strength and energy. Not only because we represent a considerable part of the population, in particular of the workers class. Not only because we have essentially contributed to the indisputable successes over the 40 years of the GDR. Not only because we ourselves are mercilessly persecuting our mistakes, drawing up critical balance sheets, proving to be able to learn, and looking ahead. But, above all, because we are unerringly working for socialism on German soil, for its renewal, for a socialism that is worth striving for.

ND: In many basic organizations it is demanded: Workers to the party congress....

Krenz: This is a correct demand, which corresponds to the times.

ND: During the current discussion and changes in the party the old structure of the kreis secretariats is also playing a role. Should it be preserved? Does it have to be changed?

Krenz: The most important thing is to preserve kreis leaderships that are capable of doing work. As regards the secretariats, this is one of many questions which cannot simply be decided centrally. How many secretaries and employees a kreis leadership needs is fixed by itself or by the delegates' conference in their own responsibility. Many things have to be newly considered in this respect, for instance, the changes that result from the consistent disentanglement of party, state, and economy.

Number of Employees in Party Apparatus Will Be Reduced

ND: Will comrades who are working full-time lose their work then?

Krenz: The restructuring of the party apparatus also means that the number of employees will be reduced. However, it must be a matter of course that further work corresponding to one's qualifications is personally discussed with each person affected. No one can deny that among these comrades there are many well trained experts, whom our society cannot do without in its renewal. Other questions in this connection will be dealt with by a committee that is formed in the Central Committee. We do not forget that these comrades have given all their strength, their knowledge, and skills to the party's work—often for decades. And one more thing: Where comrades are slandered, actions must be taken against the slanderers in accordance with the valid laws of the GDR.

ND: Many questions, suggestions, and proposals these days concern the working out of a new guideline for membership fees that has been broached by the action program. How does headquarters react to this demand by the grassroots?

Party Finances Will Be Publicly Presented

Krenz: In line with the proposals and applications of many comrades and basic organizations of the party, the changes in the SED statute will bring about a formulation of the principles for calculating membership fees in such a way that the fees will be generally reduced but in a differentiated way. The essential thing of the draft of the new guideline for membership fees is that the fees are to be calculated on the basis of the monthly net average wages or salaries, so that the amount of the membership fee is reduced in absolute terms and the monthly levying of the fees is also simplified. For parts of the income, which are paid annually, no fees are to be levied in the future. This applies to end-of-the-year bonuses and loyalty bonuses, payments for longstanding work, and similar financial benefits. The idea that members and candidate members who receive an old-age or invalidity pensions, are to pay their monthly fee in line with their financial possibilities, with a minimum fee of M1, is to be certainly welcomed.

The draft of the new guideline for the leveling of the SED's membership fees will be put up for discussion in the basic organizations via the bezirk and kreis leaderships over the next days. Proposals for changes in this draft can be submitted by every party organization and by every comrade to the Petitions Committee until 8 December 1989. If the extraordinary congress confirms this guideline, it can be put in force immediately.

ND: In discussions, letters, or telephone inquiries, it has been repeatedly demanded to make the party finances public. What will happen in this respect?

Krenz: Basically, every party member has the right to know what the party's budget consists of and for what the party's financial means, including the membership fees, are used. Preparations are made so that at the upcoming kreis delegates' conferences the revenues and expenditures of the kreis leaderships will be accounted for. The same will be done at the extraordinary congress concerning the party's overall budget. Today we can already say in general that the financial expenditures of the party are covered by its own revenues. The party does not get any subsidies from the state budget and pays for the services that it needs at the commercial prices valid in the GDR.

The revenues of the party consist mainly in membership fees and in the fees paid by the party enterprises. The majority of the membership fees is used according to plan to finance its work in the bezirk and kreis leaderships. Proposals to the effect that a larger part of the membership fees should go back to the basic organizations for their own use are being examined.

Krenz Discusses Need To Win Confidence

AU2711105589 Sofia ZEMEDELSKE ZNAME in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Egon Krenz, general secretary of SED Central Committee and chairman of GDR State Council, by NOVOSTI Berlin correspondents I. Sinitsin and A. Smirnov in East Berlin on 18 November: "Most Important Thing Is To Win People's Confidence"]

[Text] At the request of the daily ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, I. Sinitsin and A. Smirnov, NOVOSTI Berlin correspondents, interviewed Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Krenz spared some time for them during one of the recesses of the GDR People's Chamber session on 18 November. For this reason, their first question was related to the government declaration read by the new chairman of the GDR State Council. He was also asked about the most difficult task facing the SED today:

[Krenz] My comrade Hans Modrow, to whom I am linked by a long friendship dating back to the epoch of our joint work in the Free German Youth [FDJ], has prepared a very interesting government declaration. He included the political programs of all parties represented in the People's Chamber in this program and is talking about a coalition government. This is something quite new and positive, it indicates a path leading to our future. At the same time, I would like to point out that as general secretary of the SED Central Committee, I am happy to see the fundamental ideas of socialist renewal which were adopted in part by the last SED Central Committee Plenum, reflected in the government declaration. This means that we have adopted a clearly defined program for the work of the government, and this makes me happy. Now we should accomplish some deeds, rather than pronounce too many statements.

The most important task today is to win the people's confidence and this will inspire our comrades with new strength in their future efforts. In this context, we should pursue our struggle in the spirit of Goethe who said: "Only those who struggle for life and freedom day by day are worthy of such assets."

We are facing a whole series of tasks. As to the question of defining the most important of them, I would point out confidence, confidence, and nothing but confidence.

[Question] Could you please tell us about the reasons for the confidence crisis between the people and the SED?

[Krenz] I could mention several reasons because they are really numerous—both objective and subjective ones. Along with this, I believe that many positive things were achieved over the 40 years of the existence of socialism. Those who question this, just refuse to admit the truth. A state that has become an alternative to the FRG society was established in our state. We introduced social assets which our people would not miss. It was quite justifiably pointed out at the People's Chamber session that if these social achievements should be abolished one day, people would legitimately ask: "How come?"

It is evident, of course, that the same problems which emerged in other socialist countries, where the political system was functioning according to principles based on the administrative command system, and not according to the principles of conviction, affected also our country in recent years. A political system, however, should be convincing. If it does not convince people we should ask: Why is it not convincing? The basic reason, in my opinion, was the fact that words did not always coincide with deeds. We now clarified numerous problems and decided that we can no longer proceed in this manner.

[Question] You, certainly, are in favor of free elections by secret ballot?

[Krenz] Of course, I am. This was written down in the SED action program. I shall not spare any efforts to implement this program and I am convinced that my comrades and fellow party members will get involved in the election campaign.

[Question] Can you indicate what percentage of votes the SED expects to obtain during the forthcoming elections?

[Krenz] I am not a sociologist. For this reason, I do not intend to make any forecasts and speculate about the outcome of the elections. I would like to point out the following: The party whose general secretary I am has over 2 million members. I am convinced that they will join the election campaign. As to the complicated problems that exist in our country today, neither the workers, nor the peasants, nor the employees, nor any other categories of workers are responsible for them—and I

hope that I have not omitted anyone. The SED has assumed full responsibility for all those processes, and if we should cite any names, this applies to the Politburo members of the SED Central Committee who resigned and to the government which also has resigned. The responsibility was clearly established and it does not affect the primary party organizations of the SED, nor the regional or local party committees. All these comrades were convinced of serving a just cause and acted accordingly. Hence, I would like to defend them against unjustified attacks. I am in favor of holding responsible those who are really guilty for the situation that has emerged. The party is a healthy organism as a whole and should further pursue its renewal for this reason. I am firmly convinced that a genuinely renewed SED, capable of conducting a really vigorous election campaign, will emerge at the forthcoming SED Congress.

[Question] Are you ready to admit political reforms that might question the SED's leading role?

[Krenz] The party's leading role is not a subject of declarations. We acquired our experience in playing the leading role in our country in the period up to 1968 when this principle was not yet incorporated in the Constitution. The leading role of the SED, or the role of the SED in our society—I am deliberately using terms which many people no longer accept—should be asserted every day under the present circumstances. I am convinced that my party has acquired enough experience in the struggle, that it takes its role in social life seriously. For this reason, the question is not, whether or not Article 1 of the GDR Constitution should be amended. The Constitution is the country's fundamental law and I have never heard of any state in the world that amends the articles of its constitution day by day. For this reason, it would be expedient to investigate and analyze all factors and, on this basis, to adopt appropriate decisions. Taking into consideration the fact that the People's Chamber is the supreme organ of power in our country, it should have the last say.

[Question] Do you see any danger that thousands of GDR citizens might leave their country through the open borders? Does this not involve an economic danger?

[Krenz] You see, any political decision that might be adopted today should weigh all "pros" and "cons" against each other. Our decision to open the borders is dictated by humanitarian considerations. We did this in the purpose of showing our serious intentions to pursue the policy of renewal. This decision is in accordance with the commitments which the GDR assumed in Helsinki, it is in the spirit of the Vienna agreements, and responds to the GDR people's expectations who are ready to participate in the construction of the all-European home. I can only say that this step is an accomplished fact and cannot be revoked. The danger you are talking about really exists and I would not like to underestimate it. In this respect, the stability of our national currency and also the circumstance that, thanks to state subsidies, the prices of certain very essential goods in our country differ from those in the FRG or in West Berlin should be taken into consideration. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the GDR might suffer certain economic losses. Hence, we, in the SED, are engaged in the analysis of this question. The government decided to establish a commission that should propose most effective methods on how to alleviate the negative results stemming from this situation. As to the citizens' foreign travel, this measure was introduced only two weeks ago. The experience of the first days showed that, much fewer people than in the past are now willing to leave the GDR forever. Frankly speaking, I am glad that the people are beginning to rejoice, to smile even when they cross the border, and that they are just as happy at their return as they are at their departure. Our citizens are coming home to the GDR because it is their motherland, because they have a sense of belonging to this country. I think that this fact alone justifies the decision to grant free travel.

[Question] Comrade Krenz, what solutions related to the Berlin question would you agree with in dealing with the subject of Germany's reunification? Can you describe which compromises would be possible in order to guarantee peaceful coexistence?

[Krenz] The quadrapartite agreement on Berlin gives us the opportunity to live well. Along with this, the fact that we live in peace is very important. Neither declarations, nor speeches, nor selfish party interests matter in this respect. As far as reunification is concerned, let me put it frankly: I do not consider this question as topical. Such questions should be answered in accordance with the spirit of our time, and the time is not ripe for them. It is quite significant that the people who demonstrated in the streets of Leipzig, Berlin, Dresden, and Rostock did not raise the question of reunification. It did not emerge as an issue during the 4 November demonstration in Berlin, either. Only two questions of principle were discussed: The GDR is a socialist state and should remain a socialist state. The GDR is a sovereign state and should remain a sovereign state.

Politburo Proposes 7 Dec for Roundtable Talks

LD2811202489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1918 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo has proposed that the first "Roundtable" meeting be held on 7 December. Two representatives for this are to be named by the SED. This was announced following a Politburo session in Berlin today which centered on further preparations for the SED's extraordinary party congress.

Reports were given on the members' meetings and delegates' conference now taking place, at which in many cases action programs for the party organization were decided which contain new constructive thoughts regarding party work. The Politburo accepted a report from Egon Krenz on his recent visit to Leipzig. It supported the views from basic organizations that more

workers and collective farmers should be elected as delegates to the party congress.

During its discussions the Politburo concerned itself with privileges claimed by former members of the Politburo. Illegal acts which have been committed were condemned very decisively, and relevant decisions were taken to ensure that such incidents are not repeated. All known cases of offenses against the law should be examined by the organs of justice and punished.

Democratic Bloc Ready

LD2811202989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1928 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Bloc of the GDR, which unites parties and mass organizations, today stated its readiness for discussions at the "Roundtable", in a statement on a meeting of the body, which was chaired on this occasion by the CDU [Christian Democratic Union].

At the same time, questions of the Democratic Bloc's future work were discussed.

Presidium of Cultural League Resigns

LD2811212889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1854 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The members of the presidential council of the GDR Cultural League spoke in favor today of the continuing existence of the organization as a consistently independent and supra-party organization. At a meeting in the "Johannes R. Becher" Club of Cultural Workers in Berlin they demanded a reflection on humanist, democratic, and antifascist traditions as well as a far-reaching renewal.

At the start of the meeting a letter was read out in which the president of the Cultural League, Professor Dr Hans Pischner, asked to be released from office, which he has occupied since 1977, on the grounds of old age. His request was granted. At the same time the entire Presidium resigned. The newly elected working presidium will prepare an extraordinary national congress convened for March 1990. [passage omitted]

Trade Union Groups Call for Tisch's Expulsion

LD2711173489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The factory trade union executive (BGL) and other trade union functionaries at the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] National Executive have called for the immediate exclusion of Harry Tisch from the GDR trade union association, the FDGR. As also emerges from a press release to ADN, they furthermore call for the formation of an investigative committee to unsparingly investigate abuse of office, personal enrichment, and behavior detrimental to the trade unions by the former chairman. They had noted press reports about his satisfying his hunting urges in Eixen (Rostock Area) with outrage.

The secretariat of the National Executive of the Chemistry, Glass and Ceramics Industrial Trade Union has also spoken out against Harry Tisch's life-style and his abuse of power and office, and demanded his expulsion. In an open letter to the FDGB chairwoman, handed to ADN, the immediate investigation of Tisch's priviledges and failings, as well as those of all responsible functionaries, is demanded.

Leadership Resigns

LD2911102689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0957 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the beginning of the 11th executive meeting of the GDR trade union federation FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], its presidium and secretariat today resigned. The press was told, after the closed meeting, that the members of the body agreed upon a working secretariat. Apart from Annelis Kimmel, who was elected as chairperson to succeed Harry Tisch on 2 November, it comprises 12 members. The body will direct the preparation for the extraordinary congress of the FDGB. [31 Jan-1 Feb]

According to Annelis Kimmel's mandate, a basic document on the role of the trade unions in the process of renewal in the GDR is to be discussed. In preparation for the extraordinary trade union congress, the draft of a new constitution and a new electoral procedure are also to be discussed. In addition, the financial report on the use of members' contributions and solidarity donations is expected.

The FDGB is the umbrella group for 16 industrial and other trade unions with around 9 million members. The exact membership figures can at this time only be estimated, since resignations are announced daily in connection with revelations of the way of life and leadership of the former trade union chairman, Harry Tisch.

The press spokesman of the FDGB Federal Executive explained in response to questions from journalists that former trade union Chairman Harry Tisch is not taking part in today's meeting because of illness.

Tisch Expulsion Proposed

LD2911111789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] executive session today, the trade union Chairperson Annelis Kimmel has proposed that Harry Tisch be expelled from the Federal Executive and from the FDGB.

This measure, according to Annelis Kimmel, would be in the interest of the thousands of honest honorary and

full-time officials of the FDGB, of all of its members, and of the new shaping of the trade unions that has already begun.

Modrow, Kimmel Discuss State-Union Relations

LD2711150389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1328 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government wil advocate a policy which will respect the trade union rights and the work of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB). This was affirmed by Prime Minister Hans Modrow in Berlin on Monday during a conversation with FDGB Chairwoman Annelis Kimmel on the new relationship between government and trade unions in the process of socialism's democratic renewal. The statement conveyed to ADN says that issues of the stabilization of the economy, the strengthening of capacity as well as the safeguarding of social security were at the center of the talk.

The two sides expressed their agreement that the common hard work of all the working people is needed to preserve matters created, to lead the GDR out of her present crisis, and to develop, on the basis of rising economic strength, a socialism acceptable to all the citizens. The government statement presented last week is deemed to be a sound foundation for this.

Annelis Kimmel stresses the firm resolve of the FDGB to adopt in this process an active and independent stance. The industrial trade unions and other trade unions are shouldering great responsibility in the uncompromising trade union work of looking after the specific interests of every branch and vocation. This includes collective bargaining [tarifpartnerschaft] with the ministries.

"All the government's decisions," Hans Modrow said, "which concern the essential working and living conditions of the working people, are to be discussed via the trade unions with the working people, and their proposals, suggestions or objectives must be taken into account in the enterprise team contracts before the resolutions are passed. This will apply soon, above all, to the discussion of the 1990 plans." In this connection the government's invitation was repeated for the FDGB to comment on this at a national executive session, the statement said.

The state management-trade unions relations at all levels have been emphasized as an important basis for future work. "The government statement, the prime minister said, "proceeds from the premise that the democratization of the processes in the national economy and in every individual enterprise is not at all possible without the trade unions." There has been agreement that the partnership between state and trade union proceeded from the principle of the trade unions' independence and autonomy, from the government down to the enterprise. This new relationship must be thought through in level-headed fashion by both sides and establish itself in practice. The work of the trade unions should not be constricted or hampered by anybody.

New Metalworkers Trade Union Chairman Elected

LD2711163589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1754 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Executive of the Metalworkers' trade union got a new chairman on Sunday. Hartwig Bugiel, who was elected by an overwhelming majority of votes at the session of the Central Executive in Berlin, was up to now the chairman of the factory trade union executive of the optical instrument building factory within the Carl Zeiss Jena combine. [passage omitted]

Staff, Public Criticize National Security Chief

LD2811232589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2021 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is in a difficult process of renewal. In view of the new revelations coming to light every day, which demonstrate a deep moral crisis in the leadership, hundreds of members, sympathizers, and critics of the party gathered this evening at the Central Committee headquarters on the Spree, which used to be closed to the general public. The theme of the event was "The SED in a state under the rule of law."

Many undoubtedly decided to attend following the announcement in the media that the chief of the newly created National Security Office, Lieutenant General Wolfgang Schwanitz, would be answering questions. [passage omitted]

This evening he was criticized from all sides, including his own subordinates, who admitted they were facing "spiritual ruin" and were living under "great feelings of insecurity."

At stake is the reorganization of the former Ministry of State Security (MfS, also called "Stasi" in popular parlance), which has been the focus of public criticism over the past few weeks in particular. Gen Schwanitz described measures to reduce personnel; for example, the recent transfer of 7,000 former MfS members to the Customs Department.

Other former active members told of great uncertainty, because many did not know what would happen to them. In looking for work in line with the currently popular slogan "Stasi into the economy," "We do not employ snoops!" could also be heard.

The new department chief was protective of the state security staff, but protested against all forms of collective guilt and associated discrimination.

National Security Office Chief on Situation

AU2811195789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General Wolfgang Schwanitz, head of the National Security Office, by Rainer Funke in Berlin; date not given: "How Secret Is Our Secret Service?"]

[Text] [Funke] Our talk is taking place in your office in the National Security Office, Berlin, Normannenstrasse. This has not been usual so far. Is this a sign of new openness?

[Schwanitz] Certainly. We are for clearness and openness in our work.

[Funke] The journalists will take you at your word. Let us start with yourself; please, introduce yourself to our readers.

[Schwanitz] In short: Born in 1930, attended a secondary school, studied wholesale merchandising. In 1950 I became candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], in 1951 I joined the armed organs, was an assistant clerk in a kreis office of the Ministry of State Security [MfS], held various positions in the Berlin Bezirk administration; in 1986 I joined the ministry. I studied jurisprudence. My doctoral thesis dealt with problems of juvenile delinquency.

I learned the intelligence service work from scratch. Most recently I was deputy minister, responsible for operational safeguards and technology, that is for armament, units of electronic struggle, the GDR coding sector.

[Funke] A new start includes an analysis of past things. How do you see past things? Which errors, which mistakes were committed?

[Schwanitz] The most important reason for the loss in trust was the wrong basic political guideline for the work of the state security service. Increasing contradictions within society were to have been covered up by ever more comprehensive administrative measures. This was also expressed by the effort of wanting to know everything. This attitude gave rise to the tasks. The MfS took over the sphere of responsibility of other state organs, which then led to an inflation of its own apparatus. This was a bad development, which gave rise to the justified impression that the state security service is omnipresent and is watching the people.

The responsibility for this deformation goes to the then-party and state leadership, including the former minister of state security. Of course, we from the leadership of the then-ministry accept our responsibility.

We have started a critical and self-critical analysis and will get radically rid of everything which hinders the renewal of our work. The trust of our citizens is the most important precondition for the office to live up to its tasks. I am convinced that our new philosophy of state security will contribute to this.

[Funke] Does this philosophy rule out that in the future investigations will be carried out against those who think differently?

[Schwanitz] Something like this was based on a wrong security policy. In the 1970's, when the opposition movements started to develop, we pointed out that this phenomenon has to be countered politically. Unfortunately, the old leadership did not see the matter in this way until the end. Dialogue with people who think differently was rejected out of fear that this would mean their recognition. What was then left was, in fact, the administrative struggle against them. And this was a basic mistake. Today we have a clear position on this. Under my leadership something like this will not recur. Political questions can be solved only with political means and methods. We exclusively concentrate on combating actions that are hostile to the Constitution.

[Funke] What is your concept for work?

[Schwanitz] The new name National Security Office is in no way just a new label. Contents are also up for disposition. However, one thing must be clear: The security of the state is a basic precondition for the GDR's existence, exclusively oriented toward the interests of our people and toward the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

The National Security Office supports this with all consistency. Legal security is the precondition for the security of the state. But without the security of the state there is no legal security. These are important starting points for the new determination of the tasks, goals, responsibilities, and structures of the office.

[Funke] Ideas about future contents and structure have certainly not yet been fully developed?

[Schwanitz] We have formed a working group, which calls into question both issues and is to present solutions. Reconnaissance remains indispensable—no modern state, in particular in central Europe, where the military potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Pact are facing each other, can do without it.

Furthermore, we concentrate on averting attacks on the constitutional order; in particular, we want to prevent neofascist and anti-Semitic actions already at their beginnings. We consider the statements by Deputy Ellen Brombacher in the People's Chamber on Saturday [18 November] practically as our assignment.

We will continue to dedicate ourselves to combating espionage. How necessary this is becomes clear, for instance, from a publication in the West Berlin VOLKSBLATT, where it was said recently, referring to our situation, that in times of such uncertainty as the present the world's espionage industry is working at full swing. By the way, since 1961 we have arrested more than 1,000 agents of imperialist intelligence services.

We will continue to avert hostile attacks on the national economy and we will continue to deal with the problems of terrorism. The safety of public events, for instance, is no longer within our sphere of responsibility. There are considerations to reduce our responsibility concerning the safeguarding of tourist traffic, of the national border, and the protection of secrets. The staff of the office and also the bezirk offices will be reduced in line with their tasks. There are also thorough considerations as regards the kreis offices. In addition, there will be a radical reduction of material and financial assets. There is a plan to disband entire service units or parts of these service units. We will support the Customs Administration, the construction sector, and the production and service enterprises with our personnel and we will reduce the protection of individuals. A large number of employees will work in the transportation sector in the future.

[Funke] According to today's understanding of the matter, the security apparatus was too large in the opinion of many readers—they pointed this out in many letters over the past few days.

[Schwanitz] I also see matters in this way. We will reduce the office by about 8,000 employees. Many of them have worked loyally and reliably for years. I proceed from the premise that they will be received without reservations and in a comradely manner at their future jobs. In the interest of justice we have to speak up against the fact that they are now held responsible for a failed policy and its consequences. Everyone can proceed from the fact that all questions will be solved in trusting cooperation with him.

[Funke] I know that the statements by former Minister Erich Mielke at the People's Chamber on 13 November were not accepted by his former associates. Would you like to comment on this topic?

[Schwanitz] In fact, the former MfS steadily briefed the party and state leadership about emerging basic problems of the national economy and their reasons. This was linked with proposals to prevent negative trends of development. For instance, we criticized conditions posed to the former Politburo and the former Council of Ministers.

We derived the reasons and motives for the mass exodus by GDR citizens to the West above all from the internal development.

This information, suggestions, and proposals were not taken seriously by the responsible party and state functionaries or were not supported by them or were completely ignored.

Our responsibility is that we did not brief the People's Chamber in time and frankly, even at the risk of serious personal consequences, which everyone can certainly imagine very well.

[Funke] Would you open your safes, so to speak, for our readers and tell us more details by giving examples?

[Schwanitz] On 5 April 1986, for instance, we provided evidence of the fact that it was necessary to immediately start maintenance/repair, reconstruction, and expansion of machine building, electrical engineering, and the electricity networks, as well as of power plant construction and to carry out "restructuring in the abovementioned production branches to safeguard the supply of electricity in line with demand," since "otherwise covering the electricity demand in the 1990-2000 period could not be ensured."

On 13 October 1986 we drew the leadership's attention to the unfavorable development in the health sector. We spoke of an 80-percent deduction [Abschreibung] of basic assets of the health sector in one Berlin city district, of the intermittent supply of pharmaceuticals, of supply deficiencies concerning the simplest medical goods such as bandages and disinfectants.

As the main reasons for the departure of many GDR citizens—which were repeatedly reported to the party and state leadership during the 1986-89 period, together with concrete proposals—the MfS cited the "dissatisfaction with the supply situation, "anger about insufficient services," "limited chances to travel," "unsatisfactory working conditions and discontinuity in the production process," "deficiencies/inconsistencies in the application/enforcement of the performance principles, as well as dissatisfaction about the development of wages and salaries," "anger about the bureaucratic behavior of managers and employees of state organs and enterprises," as well as "incomprehension of the GDR's media policy."

[Funke] It is clear that a socialist intelligence service, too, has to work secretly. How is parliamentary control, for instance by a People's Chamber committee, possible in this case?

[Schwanitz] There are international experiences in this field. In the Soviet Union, too, similar regulations are now being worked out. In most fields such a control can be quite uncomplicated. And concerning the sensitive question, I am convinced that the legislator will find solutions in this respect, which correspond to the great need for security. We are willing without any reservations to account for our actions.

[Funke] Many citizens are worried about neofascist trends in our country. What is the situation like?

[Schwanitz] Over the past years we participated in the discovery of 736 Nazi and war criminals. And since 1 January 1988 the MfS has started a total of 188 investigations of persons who committed criminal offenses through fascist and racist statements. Of course, we proceed from the premise that the neofascist development in the FRG and in West Berlin and the advance of the Republicans and of other ultrarightist circles will continue. This will not be without effect on the internal situation of the GDR, in view of the enormous tourist traffic. And we are prepared for this.

Berlin Security Official Discusses Tasks

AU2811144889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 16 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Major General Siegfried Haehnel, chief of the Berlin Bezirk State Security Administration, by Klaus Degen; date and place not given: "Links With the Public Are Also a Topic for Us"]

[Text] BZ: The Ministry of State Security (MfS) is currently helping with 385 MfS employees—as truck or bus drivers, car maintenance workers, as well as with 21 doctors and medical technical college cadres—to fulfill urgent national economic tasks in Berlin. Was this not inconceivable just a few weeks ago?

Haehnel: No, we have organized such work for quite some time. However, there is a backlog of information.

BZ: ...Which should be made up for first.

Haehnel: As regards Berlin, this means, for instance, the traditional harvest work in the "Edwin Hoernle" Agricultural Producer Cooperative, long-standing help in case of complicated winter conditions in production and transport stages of the "Franz Stenzer" Railroad Repair Yards, in the Goods for Everyday Consumption Wholesale Trade Combine, and in the electrification of tracks of the German railroads.

BZ: Are the currently used workers only members of your bezirk administration?

Haehnel: You are overestimating our personnel strength, but a considerable proportion of the workers are ours.

BZ: Are they dispensable skilled workers?

Haehnel: No, we miss them. And one has to know that their civilian work as mainly technical workers is mostly not identical with their tasks in our administration. We miss them, for instance, as analysts or as investigation heads in counterintelligence and reconnaissance units. This means an additional burden and more work for other comrades.

BZ: Please tell us something about the tasks of the state security organs.

Haehnel: Our tasks include, among others, the repulsion of criminal attacks on the national economy from outside—also by intelligence services—such as treason, bribery, currency crimes, and gang-like organized crimes against socialist property. The state security organs do not indict anybody, this is the business of the public prosecutor. Over the past 6 years, our bezirk administration has proved damage valued at M52.4 million and 10.6 million valuta marks. It was possible to return M3 million and 220,000 valuta marks to the state budget in order to limit the damage.

BZ: Now the accusation can often be heard that the state security sector is an inflated apparatus.

Haehnel: This is just a claim. One certainly has to take into consideration the specific nature of our tasks, in particular in Berlin, which is the capital city and is the direct neighbor of West Berlin. From there, intelligence services of all leading imperialist states are operating with the intention of spying on the GDR, which we must not underestimate. The repulsion of quite a few fascist groups in West Berlin is also important, which are, as is known, increasingly committing terrorist acts against our country. We do not have too many people; we would like to have more experts, but we rule out an increase in the number of employees.

BZ: Criticism of the uncontrolled power of the MfS is publicly discussed. Is this, too, just a claim?

Haehnel: We are not an instrument of power, above the state, and we also do not have an omnipresent system of spies. We are an organ of the Council of Ministers and we are obligated to account for our actions like any other ministry. But we depend on the support by citizens, like the Security Police Department, for instance, or the Criminal Investigations Department, in order to discover and prevent attacks on the state.

BZ: In connection with the events in Berlin on 7 and 8 October, you have been accused of having violated the laws.

Haehnel: I will report about our findings to the temporary committee of the City Assembly for the investigation of these incidents. I do not want to pre-judge this. It is not our style to act carelessly and in violation of the laws in case of actions that endanger the state. It will also be mentioned that physical attacks on members of our bezirk administration have been proved. In one case, this resulted in considerable damage to the health of the person involved.

BZ: Is there or was there a process of finding out in the MfS how one can make the fulfilling of one's tasks more transparent?

Haehnel: Our talk is a step in this direction. In the action program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany it has been proposed to draw up a law on state security, which sets down the principles of the working methods and authority of the MfS and other protective and security organs. This is fully supported by us. This also applies to social control by a People's Chamber committee.

BZ: "Frank words" from the MfS are coming late; why is this so, in your view?

Haehnel: As regards the media, this accusation is justified. This is particularly linked with the restrictions of information policy which have been imposed so far. However, the bezirk administration has consistently provided technical information both to leading functionaries as well as through lectures, forums, and exhibitions for work collectives of various social and economic sectors. More than 800 public events per year with about 30,000 working people, in particular lectures in brigades

and youth groups, speak for themselves. We are aware that we, too, are facing new tasks concerning information and public relations work as a result of the process of social renewal. It is considered to have a press spokesman in our ministry in the future.

BZ: How did the members of the State Security Bezirk Administration receive the new travel regulations?

Haehnel: They mainly welcome these regulations, since the travel restrictions have often caused reactions by citizens against order and security. However, in our view, additional regulations are indispensable in order to counter speculations across the border.

BZ: Can members of your service unity also travel?

Haehnel: Like in the security organs of other countries, there will be certain restrictions for the MfS employees. Our employees know and accept this, no least because in the Salzgitter Registration Office untenable accusations against employees of the MfS and also of the Berlin Bezirk Administration are registered, which do not rule out potential sanctions by the judicial organs of the FRG and Berlin (West).

Net Indebtedness Estimated at $20 Billion

AU2011155689 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Nov 89 p 25

["lsb" report: "GDR on the Verge of Insolvency"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The GDR's ability to pay Western creditors and suppliers is obviously no longer guaranteed in the long run. Several official statements of the past few days have hinted at this situation. The new Premier Modrow also indicated that, at the moment, the East Berlin leadership does not yet know how it will pay for its imports from the West in 1989 and at the same time pay back its debts in foreign currency. According to information received by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, the GDR's indebtedness in hard currency is considerably higher than has been so far assumed by the West. The GDR's high claims against third parties are regarded as practically irrecoverable.

Even high-ranking experts of and advisers to the East Berlin Government do not exactly know the exact amount of the GDR's hard-currency liabilities. Meanwhile it is assumed that the net indebtedness has reached up to $20 billion (or just under DM37 billion). This roughly corresponds to the GDR's export volume of 2 years. [passage omitted]

Paper Says SED 'Forfeited' Claim to Leadership

LD1811160189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN) Under the headline "What We Want" the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, in its weekend edition, publishes a proposal for discussion by the Secretariat of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk [area] executive to the citizens of Leipzig Bezirk. It states i.a.: "Leipzig has for decades followed a left- wing, open-door, and future-oriented policy and has always been committed to its humanist traditions. Out of our historic responsibility we therefore state today that socialism in the GDR is in danger. The attempt to organize it in an exclusively administrative and centralist way, without democratic control from below, has failed. Mature people, including many Communists, are on the streets suing for their right to the democratic shaping of socialism. Led in a high-handed way by the Politburo, the SED in Leipzig Bezirk ended up sidetracked in development and forfeited its claim to leadership.

Decency and justice, however, compels us to say that tens of thousands of honest SED members supported the renewal of socialism and its party long before the 1989 November revolution. As a result of an incorrect assessment of the situation by the then-Secretariat of the SED Bezirk executive, silence was maintained for too long. Left alone, the party leaders ended up at the sidelines of the movement."

The Secretariat appeals to everyone—the workers, cooperative farmers, scientists, engineers, teachers, doctors and nurses, the policemen and soldiers of the people, mothers—to never again permit a policy of tutelage in the party and in society, disregarding the experiences of the people and the findings of modern social sciences and the arts.

The Secretariat also addresses several important premises for political contest and experiences of perestroyka. It demands immediate measures to stabilize the economy and supply in the Bezirk. "Leipzig Bezirk will in the long term only be viable," it states, "if we succeed by democratic means in preparing and implementing the necessary rigorous structural change, linked with a new social program. Therefore, we say: Let us finally move away from environmentally harmful extractive industry toward industries of the future and toward a better quality of life in our Bezirk."

This meant finally making use of the capacity of highly qualified workers, cooperative farmers, engineers, scientists, and artists concentrated here. This meant granting Leipzig Bezirk a standing that is its due in the economy and the republic. Also demanded are the reshaping of cooperation relations with other bezirks and inclusion of the economy and infrastructure in the international division of labour and scientific development. The Secretariat also regards the creation of a viable local supply economy and flexible construction industry as necessary. It advocates a push toward an extensive development of handcrafts, small and medium-sized trade in continuation of old Saxon traditions. It was necessary at all economic levels to promote a receptive attitude and willingness toward taking risks in participating in the West European internal market from 1992 and to make Leipzig an attractive center of trade, cultural, and scientific exchange between East and West again.

Leipzig Bezirk, which had given the GDR much, must never again be left on its own. "We do not expect charity from government commissions, we need viable programs, democratically drafted with all citizens, for support for the Bezirk from the republic," the Secretariat of the SED Bezirk executive said.

Culture Minister Speaks Out Against Censorship

LD2911095489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0331 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Culture Minister Dr Dietmar Keller has spoken out in an interview published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today, against state censorship. The minister said: "I stick to this: No censorship." The decision on publication of works of art should be taken in future by those with the greatest expert competence. "In the case of literary works this responsibility must rest with the publishers alone. Thus we will not dictate to any publishers what sort of books they should print." [passage omitted]

The future culture policy of the GDR must do justice to the breadth of the new coalition government, said Dr Keller. "This means: We can rely on a broad alliance and are accountable to this for a cultural policy which must be national, democratic and socialist, and must promote peace. It will have to respect the differences in the social classes and levels, the ideological problems, as well as the diversity of theories." The Ministry of Culture would therefore no longer have to fear coming into contact with people. "We must also talk to those who want a different GDR, a different socialism. It is better to talk with one another than to talk about one another: It leads to understanding and communication." [passage omitted]

Commentary Considers Division Into Laender

AU2811204289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 89 p 3

[Axel Knack commentary: "Do We Need Laender?"]

[Text] Over the past weeks in particular, the Saxons have developed a new —should one say "national"—sense of their own value. Some things are probably taken too seriously in this respect. To sum up, however: A new identity seems to be on the march.

An administrative reform in our country is on the agenda. This is agreed not only in the government. The idea about the GDR's new structuring into laender, which has meanwhile also been expressed by National Democratic Party of Germany Chairman Hartmann in the People's Chamber, should be included in the considerations. Old hat? Until the administrative reform in 1952, the then- young GDR was divided into laender.

Of course, such a rigorous restructuring gives rise to questions. They have to be answered with a cool head and with calm. Two esential reasons in favor of such a decision should be mentioned:

First, the relations between the central power, that is the government, and the next adminstrative echelon are simplified. The government will then not be dealing with 15 partners anymore, but perhaps with 5. On the other hand, the greater concentration of forces in these regions results in greater competence in decison-making concerning one's own affairs.

Second, the cultural-regional, historically developed differences among the GDR's people still exist. This difference, which expresses itself in friendly or sometimes also serious local patriotism, should actually be made productive. I can imagine a fruitful competition between the Saxons and the Mecklenburgers about whose land is more beautiful. The people from Anhalt, Thuringia, and Brandenburg would certainly not want to be left behind then.

Panel Discusses SED Program of Action

AU2811152389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[ND report: "Beginning Tonight: Panel Discussions in the Central Committee Building"]

[Text] Berlin—With the first panel discussion, the Central Committee Consultation and Information Center of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will expand its offer for an exchange of views and dialogue concerning its program of action as of this Monday [20 November]. Gerd Schulz, head of the center and Central Committee member, told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that the first discussion will be held under the motto: On criticism of the political economy—the SED and economic reform. Taking part in the discussion will be Helmut Kozoliek and other Central Committee members.

Like all the activities of the center in Oberwasserstrasse 12 (near the Spittelmarkt subway station), the debate is public and is scheduled to begin at 1800.

Gerd Schulz added that from the time it was opened up until Sunday noon [19 November], the center received 853 telephone calls from all bezirks. Detailed talks, some of them lasting several hours, were held with 233 visitors. The great variety of opinions expressed resulted in 180 questions, hints, and motions which were passed on to the respective commission preparing the extraordinary party congress. He said that the SED's program of action was playing an increasing role in the talks with comrades and citizens. He said that it had led to a certain polarization within the party, and represented a clear orientation and encouragement above all for those comrades who wanted to push for renewal.

Panel Discusses Changes in Political System

AU2811165189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Discussion About Change in Political System"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Equals among equals? The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in the political system of the GDR—this was the topic of the panel discussion in the Central Committee's Consultation and Information Center on Wednesday evening [22 November]. It became an emotional discussion which took several hours and could not have been different in a time in which the party is on the way to finding itself. The profound political crisis of socialism in the GDR makes it clear that the model of the political system practiced by the SED so far has proved to be unstable in the end. Proceeding from this starting point, SED Politburo member Wolfgang Herger developed his ideas for democratizing society, on the relationship between party and state, on state sovereignty and people's sovereignty, and on the duty of the state to protect civil rights. In this process, the SED is determinedly sticking to socialism as the goal of its policy. However, the dogmatic, deformed model of the political system must be changed both in theory and in practice.

In this connection, a controversial discussion was held about the future work of the SED in the enterprises, above all. Some speakers directly called this claim into question. This was refuted with the argument that a workers party must work where the workers class is. At the same time, it is necessary to intensify the effectiveness of the comrades' political work in residential areas in view of the upcoming elections. Many speakers strongly demanded a comprehensive self-critical analysis, as well as the quick punishment of the comrades who are responsible for the crisis. Their continuing membership is not suited to stopping the loss of trust and makes the work of the many honest comrades at the grass-roots level more difficult.

Today, Thursday, the discussion will be continued with the panel discussion "Can the SED renew itself? SED—the most disciplined democrats." Partners in the talk this evening, as of 1800, will be Siegfried Lorenz, Helga Koenigsdorf, and Heinz Mirtschin.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-14 Nov

AU1911180889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 2 to 15 November reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members spoke at the 10th session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED CC) in Berlin on 8-10 November: Council of Ministers Chairman Modrow (10 Nov, pp 5-6); Wolfgang Herger (11-12 Nov, pp 5-6); Defense Minister Heinz Kessler (11-12 Nov, p 7); Siegfried Lorenz (11-12 Nov, pp 11-12); Gerhard Schuerer (11-12 Nov, p 9); Guenter Schabowski (11-12 Nov, p 11); Guenter Sieber (11-12 Nov, p 9)

Egon Krenz, SED CC general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, received the new ambassadors of Norway, Laos, and Mexico for the presentation of their credentials in Berlin on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 2)

Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow answered journalists' questions in Berlin "following his election as chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers." (14 Nov, pp 1-2)

Politburo member Guenther Schabowski met with the chairmen of the Berlin Bezirk units of the friendly party and of the bezirk committee of the National Front in Berlin, date not given. (2 Nov, p 8)

Genther Schabowski gave an interview on the upcoming People's Chamber session; date and place not given. (13 Nov, p 2)

Politburo member Gerhard Schuerer visited the workers of the parent enterprse of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Oberspree Cable Works Combines on 1 November. (2 Nov, p 3)

Nyers Congratulates CPCZ's Urbanek on Election

LD2711204489 Budapest MTI in English 1837 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—Reszo Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, has sent a message of greetings to Karel Urbanek, newly-apointed general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPSZ].

In the telegram, Mr Nyers expressed his genuine hope that the process of transformation now evolving in Czechoslovakia will reinforce the mutually-advantageous relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, making the links between the two peoples and equal nationalities stronger.

Warsaw Publication of Dubcek Letter Reported

LD1711215889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Alexander Dubcek urges that the GDR, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union condemn the Warsaw Pact's 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. According to the leader of the Prague Spring of 20 years ago, these countries should also follow the example of the Polish and Hungarian legislatures. Alexander Dubcek's open letter has been published by the Solidarity paper in Warsaw. The document has also been signed by Oldrich Cernik, the Czechoslovak Government leader at the time.

The letter is a reply to an interview of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, in which the Soviet politician said: The intervention was a joint decision, thus the reevaluation should also be carried out jointly.

Romania's Nadia Comaneci Flees to Hungary

AU2911103589 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0951 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest/Bucharest—The Romanian athlete Nadia Comaneci has fled to Hungary.

The 29-year-old Comaneci and six other Romanians crossed the border between Romania and Hungary near Mezogyan yesterday evening [28 November]. The athlete won three gold medals in the 1976 Winter Olympics in Montreal.

Upon her arrival in Hungary, Comaneci reported that the Romanian authorities had not allowed her to work as a coach in the West. Also, she was not permitted to travel to any foreign country.

* Romanian Terrorists Attack Hungarian Minister

90EC0118A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Written statement by Reformed Church Minister Laszlo Tokes, Temesvar, 5 November 1989; article by Ferenc L. Gazso: "Laszlo Tokes' Dramatic Letter: Religious Service Following Terrorist Attack"; and interview with Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi, head of the governmental secretariat on National and Ethnic Minorities, 6 November 1987, by Ferenc L. Gazso: "Mass Relocation Means Joint Suicide"]

[Text] Temesvar [Timisoara]. Protestant Minister Laszlo Tokes dispatched a dramatic letter yesterday concerning his beating, a terrorist attack on his family, and his extremely distressed situation. The letter, as well as up-to-date, authentic information, was forwarded to MAGYAR HIRLAP by the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation. "... Our isolation is most painful," Tokes reminds us of our moral responsibility, that we must not stop holding the hands of Transylvanian Hungarians.

"Information concerning the Temesvar case.

"(a) My first report relates to the holiday of Reformation. I invited my father, retired theology professor Dr Istvan Tokes, on this eminent occasion and for communion. As I was informed later, on the eve of 28 October he arrived in our city by way of the Ias-Temesvar Express, accompanied by his 16-year-old granddaughter. At the Temesvar station, however, they were unexpectedly apprehended and taken to the terminal police station. They were held there until morning. They were treated in a disgraceful manner, and made to stay awake all night long by having to sit on a chair. The universally respected, aged former Kolozsvar [Cluj] assistant bishop was held under the pretext of being involved in black marketing second hand articles. At early dawn they were forced to board the through train to Ias. Accompanied by two police guards they were returned to Kolozsvar. He was summoned several times to the Kolozsvar fiscal police on grounds of black marketing. It is incredible that these things can take place in flagrant violation of our socialist home country's legal order.

"(b) Shocked, but acquiescing to God's will, I am informing the congregation that on Thursday, 2 November, around 7:30 pm, my family and our parsonage were attacked by terrorists. Four knife wielding men with stocking masks suddenly and unexpectedly broke down our door, entered our home amid bone chilling screams, and attacked us. A frightening struggle ensued. Several times I was subdued to the floor, kicked, and beaten. Perhaps the coincidental presence of two guests saved us from more serious consequences. Most of the furniture on the balcony was broken. Watching from behind a glass door, our frightened young son could not comprehend what was going on. One of the men attacked me with a hunting knife. With his first cut he inflicted a wound on my forehead. When he attacked for the second time I succeeded in striking the knife out of his hand and on to the floor, thus separating the attacker from the knife.

"Fear of being caught in the act, and probably the presence of guests and the unexpected resistance, made

the terrorists retreat quickly. But it was mostly by God's help that the attempted murder failed.

"Police summoned by neighbors did their duty. In my report I pointed out that in recent months I have received several anonymous death threats over the phone, each accompanied by chauvinist remarks.

"I am convinced that the terrorists were dispatched by someone. They accomplished their mission in the center of the city, in a populated rental building at a relatively early hour, noticeably, and with extreme boldness. It is apparent that robbery was not their goal.

"I am sad to say that the attackers and their principals who remained in the background are to be condemned to a lesser extent for this disgraceful event than others. After all, one should not wonder why they perpetrated this action. Laszlo Papp, the bishop of Nagyvarad [Oradea], and unprincipled individuals who cater to him should be condemned far more instead. These persons created the present situation and subjected the servant of their own church and his Temesvar congregation to coarse intimidation and violence.

"This terrorist attack is an organic part of the bishop's illegal actions against me and my congregation which began 7 months ago.

"(c) The issue concerning the minister's office telephone is related to the above actions. Our telephone has not been working for more than 3 months; it only rings when the caller threatens me. I have also learned that in many instances strangers are using the telephone that is registered in our name, thus misleading our acquaintances. This is supported by our most recent telephone bill for 805 lei, because for all practical purposes we have not used our telephone at all since July.

"Beyond the aggravation and the telephone piracy, our isolation is most painful. While distant members of my family are being harassed and intimidated when they come to visit, and are not permitted to see me, I am unable to get in touch with them over the phone. In the same way it is frightening that I was unable to use the telephone to call for assistance in the course of Thursday's attack or on similar occasions. Thus we are left to our fate to the fullest extent.

"My dear Brothers and Sisters, Respected Congregation!

"I clearly state that I am innocent before the law, and that the Temesvar congregation and my family are the victims of grave injustice, and of abusive and illegal actions.

"I do not know what else is in store for me.

"I cannot tell whether force and intrigue will permit me to appear at the pulpit.

"Irrespective of what happens, I will uphold our legitimate truth to my last breath, and I will endeavor to maintain the thus far undisturbed order of our congregation and our religious life. I will stay at my post as long as God permits me to do so.

"Happy are those who suffer violence for truth, because Heaven is theirs."

* * *

We also received the messenger's report. Unfortunately, we cannot publish his name, just as we could not publish the names of other brave messengers who in these times of upheaval are willing to carry the good word, medicine, and a few days of food supplies to Laszlo Tokes in Transylvania and to all those who stand by him. Our messenger arrived in Temesvar on the morning of 5 November. He rang the bell and knocked on the Tokes' door for a long time. After a long wait, Tokes' wife, lady Edit, opened the door. There are several locks on that door, and one of its wings is propped up with a pole. More than just the immediate Tokes family lives there. Mrs Tokes' mother has also been living there since the upheavals began. On the morning of his arrival our messenger also found the minister's brother-in-law and his younger brother Jozsef at the house.

According to the eyewitness, it is characteristic of the family's state of mind that when he entered, Jozsef grabbed the chair that had broken into pieces in the course of the previous struggle, prepared for any possibility. There is a bandage on Laszlo Tokes' forehead, above his left eye. His movements are enervated, and his back is bent. He has been beaten thoroughly according to every indication, even though he states that aside from bruises he was not harmed, and that he does not feel stinging or piercing pain.

On that Sunday Tokes walked up to the church well before the service began. Prepared for any eventuality, he wanted to be there before any possible provocateurs would arrive.

His sermon was so peaceful that it could have been delivered in any church in the world on 5 October 1989. He read from Nehemiah, Proverbs 14-15, then from the Apostle Paul's letter to the Thessalonians. The church was filled to capacity. Thereafter Tokes spoke about love, solidarity, and endurance, according to the eyewitness. By then not only God's church was filled with people, but also its vicinity. Local people told him that Catholics, Jews, and atheists had come to hear Laszlo Tokes' sermons, in addition to members of the reformed congregation. Since September, many university students have come to this church.

As usual, the sermon was followed by announcements. It was at this time that Laszlo Tokes read the letter published herein.

"Mass Relocation Means Joint Suicide"

Having received the shocking news from Temesvar, yesterday afternoon we sought an interview with Deputy

Minister Csaba Tabajdi, head of the secretariat on National and Ethnic Minorities that works alongside the government.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Virtually every party and movement in Hungary has delivered protests to the Romanian Embassy against Romanian policies which trample on nationalities and present an existential threat to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. The government expresses solidarity, however it has not filed a protest in the form of an official note. Why not?

[Tabajdi] The Minority College of the Council of Ministers was among the first to issue a statement with regard to the case of Temesvar Reformed Church Minister Laszlo Tokes and his congregation. The statement indicates that proceedings initiated under laws governing churches and labor affairs are in flagrant violation of Articles 13 and 17 of the constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic. Unfortunately, the government has limited opportunities. Public attention in Hungary and abroad, focusing on the fate of Laszlo Tokes, constitutes a restraining force, just as it did when lady Doina Cornea was harmed. There is close correlation between these two cases, because the fundamental human rights of both these persons are being violated by the actions of Romanian authorities. This correlation proves to the world that the issue pertains not merely to a nationalities dispute in the narrow sense of that term. Unfortunately, there is little chance for direct negotiations, because at the moment Hungary is not alone in not being able to negotiate with the Romanian government concerning the merits of issues. No other government is able to negotiate, from the East or the West.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] So then, is there nothing we can do? Are we going to wait until Laszlo Tokes and others like him succumb to their fate?

[Tabajdi] No, that is out of the question. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is considering whether it should register its protest in the form of a memorandum concerning the present atrocities against Laszlo Tokes. I am also recommending that our diplomatic corps address this issue in the European Council, the European Parliament, and at every existing forum of the Helsinki process. Let the world know about this exemplary case. In my view, we may also expect the Reformed Church to file a more determined protest than it did before. We must bring every government to understand that the events involving nationalities in Transylvania do not constitute mere local "accidents." Instead, these incidents violate human rights to a degree that ultimately they will pose a threat to European stability.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] I would think that the time has come for us to do more than talk in generalities about the sense of responsibility we all hold for Hungarians residing beyond our borders.

[Tabajdi] Fewer speeches and less exhibitionism! The fate of Transylvania must not serve as a pretext, a tactical trick in the framework of domestic struggles. This cause must not be subordinated to party skirmishes and to personal careers either. In my view, everyone should think through what he, as a Hungarian citizen, can and must do so that Hungarians in Transylvania may continue to live on the land of their and our ancestors. Mass relocation means joint suicide. The most important matter is that Laszlo Tokes and the rest of the Hungarian patriots in Transylvania feel that we will not leave them on their own. And there is one other way in which we can help. Although this would be of indirect help only, it is more important. We must not collapse in an economic, political, and moral sense, so that in Transylvania and elsewhere they may look up to their mother country—to us.

Poland's Rakowski To Pay Working Visit 29 Nov

LD2811183489 Budapest MTI in English 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—Mieczyslaw F Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, is to arrive in Budapest on a working visit on Wednesday [29 November] at the invitation of Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Horn Compares Reforms in USSR, Hungary

AU2311143389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Nov 89 p 2

[Report by correspondent Demeter Pogar: "We Want To Accelerate the Speed of Soviet Troops Withdrawal—Gyula Horn Meets Foreign Journalists"]

[Text] We expect two things from today's EEC summit and from the Gorbachev-Bush meeting. First, the big powers should confirm that they will not interfere in the changes under way in Eastern Europe. (In our view, both big powers are willing not to interfere.) Second, the developed countries should support the reform process—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Press Institute on 17 November.

The processes that have begun in Eastern Europe represent only the beginnig of the changes—Gyula Horn pointed out. It is also in the interest of the Western world that the reform processes stabilize. The economy represents the greatest uncertainty factor in these changes. We need foreign help to avoid this uncertainty factor. According to Gyula Horn, the West has hardly reached the limits of its aid potential. According to available calculations, so far, Hungary and Poland have been offered a total of about $3 billion.

Speaking about the connection between the changes in Eastern Europe and those in the Soviet Union, Gyula Horn pointed out the relationship between the two. If the Hungarian process fails, this would endanger the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. The same is true the other way round. A possible return to the old ways in the

Soviet Union would cause the greatest harm to the reform processes under way in Eastern Europe—Gyula Horn pointed out. He also stressed that such a change would no longer have a direct effect on the Eastern European countries.

According to Gyula Horn, the Hungarian people did not give up the idea of neutrality, but, in the current situation, this is not one of our immediate goals. Hungary must thoroughly consider its geopolitical situation. Gyula Horn pointed out that radical changes have taken place in the activity and behavior of the Warsaw Pact in recent years. The alliance has reorganized and modernized itself, and it maximally respects the sovereignty of its members. Hungary does not consult with the Warsaw Pact—as an organization—on the type of contacts it is having with the Western alliance. Today, the members states themselves are deciding on this. Therefore, we do not question our affiliation to the Warsaw Pact. The allied members would not tolerate a possible Hungarian withdrawal, and this would endanger Hungary's sovereignty.

At the same time, we want to accelerate the speed of Soviet troops withdrawal. Negotiations are under way with the Soviet leadership on this issue. It is impossible to solve this problem unilaterally, without consulting the allies. We are avoiding any step that does not adjust to the realities in Eastern Europe.

In connection with our membership in CEMA, Gyula Horn said that this is undergoing a change at present. The Hungarian efforts to remodel CEMA have been unsuccessful so far, and have met only with the efforts of few countries. However, Hungary does not want to sever its relations with CEMA but it is trying to modernize these relations. Our CEMA membership should not hinder our contacts with other organizations. Gyula Horn denied that we have losses deriving from our CEMA membership.

Gyula Horn welcomed the U.S. Congress decision on providing economic support to the Hungarian and Polish reforms. According to Gyula Horn, in addition to helping these countries financially, this decision also encourages the U.S. private capital which, so far, has been passive and distrustful.

Speaking about Hungary's relations with Romania, Gyula Horn said that he considers the situation to be hopeless for the time being. Hungary not only failed to achieve progress in this issue, but the situation has further deteriorated. Therefore, the only way out is to convince international public opinion, because only a common stand could bring about changes in Romania. Gyula Horn rejected the Romanian accusations according to which Hungary's call to restore the former autonomy in Transylvania means interference in internal Romanian affairs.

Further Reportage on 27 Nov Referendum

Results To Be Announced 30 Nov

LD2811213189 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—The results of the national referendum cannot be made public before Thursday [30 November], the National Electoral Board announced at a press briefing held in Parliament on Tuesday.

The announcement of the official results has been delayed as by Monday night, only a quarter of the returns from the 11,007 wards had been processed, and the number of returns needing a legal review is higher than expected.

Szuros Assesses Referendum

LD2811224989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The interim president of the Hungarian Republic spent the day in County Fejer. At the country headquarters, Matyas Szuros met representatives of the various parties and churches, as well as of the councils. Naturally, he also evaluated the referendum.

[Begin Szuros recording] The referendum has been duly held. Naturally, there are also some losers, to a certain extent, for reasons of prestige. However, what we have to think about, first and foremost, is to draw lessons from it. We have to travel the length of this road. Parliamentary democracy has to be shaped here, and the institution of president will also have to be fitted into this. [end recording]

The interim president of the Republic briefly evaluated Hungary's domestic and foreign political situation as well. The country is in a dual dependence: Politically and militarily, it depends on the Warsaw Pact; economically, on Western capital. We must not commit ourselves one-sidedly. It is by no means desirable that an Eastern orientation should now be replaced by a Western orientation. A balance must be kept.

Also in regard to the parties, Maytas Szuros emphasized the need for shaping and maintaining a balance. In his view, as a matter of fact, it is desirable that the new democratic parties should strengthen, but also that the reformed left wing should remain strong. One must guard against those extremist tendencies whose signs are proliferating in Hungarian society. It should not be passions which dominate in the judgment of individuals. Every decent person must be respected, no matter what party he belongs to, stressed the interim president of the Republic in Szekesfehervar.

* Real Motives for SZDSZ 'Forced' Referendum

90EC0125A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Imre Forgacs: "Then Again, Why Not?"]

[Text] In Pest dialect it would be called cheeky to conduct a public debate without giving the opponent an opportunity to respond. Perhaps it would be even cheekier if a debating partner is hardly able to get a word in edgewise, because the enthusiastic reporter of our national institution cuts him off in midspeech three times in the course of a brief ten minute period—as it happened during last Thursday's HAZAI TUKOR broadcast. One could hope of course that more decent viewers, fed up with politics switched the dial to watch Belfegort, the Phantom of the Louvre at that late hour—which is also a crime story but at least it is free of demogogery. Demogogery, however, can be attributed to the true nature of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats]-FIDESZ [Association of Young Democrats] signature drive to force a popular referendum on 26 November which still has not been recognized by many for what it really is.

This story did not begin just yesterday, but rather with the trilateral political coordination talks held earlier in the summer and which became the central focus of domestic policy. The country and international public opinion watched anxiously whether an agreement would be reached among the diverse negotiating partners representing so many different interests. Clearly, many, too, will remember how during the prepatory stages of negotiations in the already boring debates being waged in the media, how agressively the SZDSZ representative attacked the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] as a party which did not really want to reach an agreement, and accused it of playing tactical games to gain time, and that it was obstructing the evolution of new, democratic forces.

The tough negotiations following the basic agreement bore fruit. The government was able to present the so-called basic laws to Parliament. That package plan included a provision to elect a president of the republic in 1989 by direct popular vote. After the first free parliamentary elections the issue would be the responsibility of the new parliament(s).

Quite obviously, many have asked, and continue to ask the question: what is behind this apparently odd, contradictory agreement? Is the confusion manifested by those less versed in politics appropriate—those who believe that electing the president by popular vote is a more democratic, a better process, and that therefore we should always elect the president that way, or is it true that Parliament is better suited to elect a president, and that therefore the president should be elected by representatives. The truth is that in and of itself, no electoral method or technique is capable of guaranteeing democracy. A manipulated popular referendum can be just as antidemocratic as a parliamentary vote sanctioning a bargain struck among parties.

Well then, what is the intent of the 18 September agreement that was signed by a majority of the negotiating partners?

I believe it represents a proper, acceptable compromise. One that is not backed solely by party interests, but instead by a sober recognition that the country needs peace, and that such peace may be best assured by the earliest possible election of a president of the republic, one who enjoys the people's confidence. One who possesses constitutional authority to enhance the possibility of forming a post-election coalition and to appropriately channel such a process, thereby preventing the process from turning into an anarchy of partisan struggle.

Distinguished politicians of nationally known parties and political forces—and these include far more than the MSZMP and its successor, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]—who have a chance of winning the election were naturally interested in seeing that in general, the president be elected by popular referendum. Nevertheless they compromised, and agreed to the idea that beginning in subsequent elections the relative strength of various parties in Parliament would determine the person of the president. This solution favored those who presented lesser known personalities.

It is well known that compromise is a method used to conduct responsible politics, in which every party to the debate surrenders a part of its previously held position in the interest of reaching constructive agreement. Nevertheless, there exists another kind of political discourse which builds on force and aggression. Representatives of this school of politics will not sign agreements if their viewpoint is in the minority. They have a right to do so, of course. The situation is different, however, if the negotiating party which did not sign the agreement does everything that is legal and beyond the limits of legality, outside the negotiating process to disable those who agreed (more accurately: those who reached a tormented compromise) to implement the agreement. It is fair to call this method obstruction.

But then 'the voice of the people is the voice of God'. If 100,000 signatures were collected, a popular referendum must be held even if the issue is whether a popular referendum should be held. Though it is irrelevant from a constitutional viewpoint, it is not necessarily irrelevant from a political point of view that almost half of the signatures could not be verified. Among the many tens of thousands of authentic signatures, 5,000 signatories were ineligible to vote (e.g. children). Just to be sure, more than 2,000 people signed the sheets more than once. With due respect to the law which it created, the National Assembly issued the call for a popular referendum to be held 26 November, based on the more than 100,000 authenticated signatures.

All this, however, is not enough. A grave and oft mentioned charge holds that the National Assembly

exceeded its authority when it added explanatory remarks to the questions printed on the signature sheets. In this case SZDSZ spokesmen would like to see their humorous comparison become a reality. The method by which, in the National Assembly, one drops in signatures at the top, and a resolution calling for a popular referendum comes out at the bottom. Nevertheless, the truth is to the contrary. The law concerning popular referendums authorizes the legal, administrative and judiciary committees of the National Assembly only to submit to Parliament (and not to act as messengers) resolutions for popular referendums. The reasoning behind this rule is contained in another section of the same law. It says that questions placed before a public referendum must be stated in a manner so as to enable voters to respond by giving clear-cut answers.

The fact that these two rules concerning the method of calling for a public referendum were not in vain may be seen from the manipulative character of the SZDSZ-FIDESZ signature drive. For example: the first question (Should a president of the republic be elected only after the National Assembly elections?) suggests that only the date of the election is at issue. Voters not appropriately informed would hardly recognize the fact that in making their choice they are also choosing between two methods of election (i.e. electing the president by way of direct popular vote or [indirectly] through the Parliament). Needless to say, voters may be blamed least for not being informed. Perhaps it would have become unnecessary for Parliament to add supplemental commentary if they had been able to read or hear somewhere else than in the MAGYAR KOZLONY [Hungarian Legal Gazette] just what the Constitution had to say about the election of the president of the republic, rather than the repeated statement concerning the position developed by the "coalition of the four [negotiating] parties" only.

Thus, as a result of the SZDSZ-FIDESZ action, a popular referendum will be held on 26 November. Those who forced this issue, and those who joined in this decision later, successfully accomplished a strike against one of the first institutions of our fledgling democracy: the National Roundtable. If for no other reason, those of left-wing sentiments, and other sober representatives seeking contructive and positive compromise should respond with a "NO" to the first question on the ballot.

Grosz Call for Congress in Hungary Noted

AU2311215789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Nov 89 p 5

[Text] Budapest, AGERPRES, 18 November—The Hungarian press agency MTI announces: The 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will be convened on 17 December. The call was signed by Karoly Grosz, on behalf of the preparatory committee. According to the document, which was released to MTI, the MSZMP sends its members and friends the following message: "The most important task is to organize, on new foundations, a united Marxist party—of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals—which should be able to retain the achievements attained through a work full of self-denial over 4 decades, overcome the profound crisis, and find the paths that lead to the accomplishment of socialist ideals. The 14th Congress sets the tasks to work out the MSZMP's action program, which should include the necessary reforms, democratic legal norms, and socioeconomic tasks that should urgently be solved, as well as the representation of the interests of workers, intellectuals, pensioners, and young people."

MSZMP Figure Calls for Alliance of Forces

LD2711102889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which is being renewed, accepts many ideas which the previous ruling party sharply attacked. The MSZMP accepts pluralism and the multiparty system, and it is willing to enter into an alliance with the leftwing forces of the opposition parties for socialism and democracy. This is what Jeno Szirmai, member of the party's national organizing committee, told a meeting in Kaposvar. He also said that they will firmly take action against those who spoil the credibility of the MSZMP by corruption and abuses. Jeno Szirmai went on to say that the MSZMP Congress which will convene on 17 December will submit a situation assessment and action program.

Further Reportage on National Assembly Session

Debates Tax Law

LD2311162589 Budapest MTI in English 1427 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi today presented to Parliament a compromise proposal on amendments to the tax law.

The government originally wanted to reduce the corporate profit tax rate from 50 percent to 45 percent, and, parallel to this, introduce an 18 percent dividend payment on profits from state-owned companies. Objections have centred around state companies having to face an increase of up to 1 percentage point in their tax burden compared to a drop of 9 percent for private individuals and economic associations.

The government therefore recommends, as a compromise agreement, setting the profit tax level at 40 percent, instead of the originally planned 45 percent, but increasing the state assets-related dividends to 20 percent. This modification would result in a 10 billion forints fall in budget income.

However the government is looking to reduce next year's budget deficit to 15 billion forints from this year's 21 billion. Therefore, if taxes are cut back, tax concessions will have to follow suit and the minister of finance

suggests that the 40 percent profit tax threshold be reduced to 35 percent in agriculture, and the food industry and retail trade.

If the Parliament accepts the compromise, profit centralization for state companies will drop below 50 percent and below 38 percent for private individuals and economic associations.

The government is also looking to extend 25 percent VAT [value added tax] to all goods imported through private channels. However since customs duty is to drop by the same amount there will be no additional burden on private individuals.

The only exception is private car imports where duties are already considerably lower and the minister of finance proposes the introduction of a 25 percent VAT on privately imported cars immediately rather than on January 1.

Mr Bekesi stressed that the government wants to curb the spending abroad of convertible currency by individuals. At least 200 million USD are estimated to have so far been spent by Hungarians on private car imports.

Up to November 22 this year, 46,000 cars arrived in Hungary through private channels, Opel and Ford being the most popular makes.

More on Debate

LD2411141189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpts] We turn now to the Parliament building, where Attila Nemeth-Miklos and Tibor Hollauer report.

[Unidentified reporter] The government is not in an easy position. It is now 45 minutes into its session, formulating replies to the points raised and amendments proposed by the deputies in connection with the tax law. But, as I am speaking, Laszlo Bekesi, finance minister, has just gone past us. Due to his submittal yesteday, it was mainly the planned general turnover tax on private car imports which moved the deputies to speak. Today, the speakers spoke only about this, for an hour. [passage omitted]

Laszlo Morvay, as leader of the enterpreneurs' faction, asked for further tax reductions beyond the government's concessions. He said it is time to follow the lessons of foreign experience, according to which a maximum rate of 30 percent can be expected to enliven the economy. Laszlo Morvay demanded tax exemptions for starting ventures of 100 percent in the first year, 50 percent in the second, and 25 percent in the third. At the same time, he proposed setting up state committees to help ventures, for example an Entrepreneurial Secretariat, which could mediate between the government and the interest representation. [passage omitted]

Dr Laszlo Tecsi's concrete proposal is that the government oblige the National Assembly to ensure that the measures regarding wage regulation should not be asserted in agriculture.

Janos Eleki from County Bekes spoke out because state property at agricultural cooperatives is subject to the same high tax inflicted on the cooperatives. [passage omitted]

This morning, the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee met. In the spirit of this, it will advise the Parliament to support the nomination of Doina Cornea and Laszlo Tokes for the Nobel Peace Prize.

At this moment, the break is still continuing.

Session Ends 24 Nov

LD2511233589 Budapest MTI in English 2141 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—The November session of Parliament ended with MPs [Members of Parliament] approving the report on the state of preparations for the world expo, and the bill on amending the labour code. Acting Speaker of Parliament Istvan Fodor closed the session at 7.45 p.m., and announced that the next session will begin on December 18.

Walesa Hailed for Journey to U.S.

AU2811135289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA ("Plus" Supplement) in Polish 25-26 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by Maciej Wierzynski: "Walesa and Tears"]

[Text] "Although Walesa was literally able to bring tears to the eyes of American politicians, squeezing money out of businessmen's pockets may turn out to be much more difficult," is what a CHICAGO TRIBUNE commentator wrote.

The Solidarity chairman was actually touring the United States at the invitation of trade unions, and crowds of enthusiastic listeners welcomed him as the hero of a struggle for freedom, democracy, and human rights. Nevertheless, as Americans said, his agenda was different from that of a trade union leader: The main point was obtaining economic aid for Poland.

This was formulated in a variety of ways, primarily by way of encouraging people to invest in a country where the market is capable of absorbing any product and which also has a well-educated work force. In his address to the U.S. Congress, Walesa used the term Marshall Plan, and in America this is considered synonymous with financial aid, including cash. When George Marshall announced his plan for rebuilding the ruined European economy after the war, he said that "America should not propose half-measures, but organize a cure."

Forty years later a lot is being said about Poland, but unfortunately, President Bush and Congress are in no hurry to produce cash from their pockets. In fact, they point out that their means are limited. None of the urgency that accompanied the Marshall Plan is evident in Washington. Even the Republicans, for whom the Poles seem to feel more affection than for the Democrats, are following a tough line: Reforms first, then aid. For example, the position of Senator Robert Dole, who will no doubt be paying a further visit to Poland shortly, is that "the American Government should behave in a financially responsible manner." Another Republican, William Roth of Delaware, said that the influx of capital will not solve Poland's problems and added that "after the borrowing orgy of the 1970's, the Poles have nothing left but debts that are a millstone around their necks."

This is the atmosphere that Walesa had to contend with during his trip to America. At first sight, his task seemed to be a very easy one. He was enthusiastically received wherever he appeared. However, even during the visit, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE wrote: "Walesa's charm is not the decisive factor for capitalists." It is not decisive for business. This is because Walesa was eagerly applauded by everyone, both capitalists and trade unionists.

The visit took place on at least three levels. There was the emotional level, the political level, and the level of doing business. I have already written about the last one: It was the most difficult; although he may not have convinced many people, Walesa certainly aroused their interest.

On the emotional level the visitor from Poland scored a great success. He elicited tears, joy, sympathy, and pride. He sparked a torrent of great and beautiful words in the press, radio, and television, and this raised the self-esteem of both older and more recent emigres. Both those who cannot speak a word of Polish, but had a grandfather from somewhere near Tarnow and those who are still unable to formulate a sentence in English correctly, because they have just arrived in that country, identified themselves with him. Both newcomers from Poland who are moonlighting and old American trade unionists identified themselves with him. He won the hearts of Congress and of those in the White House. The last person to have aroused such universal interest was Gorbachev.

That is how we come to politics. In America everyone has their five minutes. Now Germany and the GDR are having their five minutes, because of the political changes and the Wall. But of all the countries in Eastern Europe, Poland has probably been the luckiest in this respect. We have had our 5 minutes again and again. It was surely even a quarter of an hour in the past, because it continued uninterrupted from the June elections until the formation of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government. Now, as the Berlin Wall is beginning to be dismantled and the post-Yalta order in Europe is beginning to crumble away along with it and at a time when these events are no longer just front-page news, but occupy entire editions of papers, Lech Walesa appears on the scene.

Many people feared that his visit would be overshadowed by what is happening in Germany and Europe. It turned out that the very opposite was true. Walesa's presence at that particular moment reminded everyone that it all began back in Gdansk, in August, or perhaps earlier, in Radom, with the Workers Defense Committee, or perhaps it began with that leap over the shipyard gates. In a word, it began in Poland. Thanks to Walesa's untiring efforts and a dozen speeches, which could have been shorter sometimes and better prepared, Polish affairs did not disappear from the scene, which does not in itself determine policy, but helps in the formulation of policy.

A certain skeptical American acquaintance of mine says that the former Polish opposition, which is now involved in running the country, have their toughest time ahead of them. In the past it was enough to say the truth and one would be sent to prison for that amid sighs of respect and sympathy from the West. Today one has to engage in politics, and politics is not just the same as telling the truth. Politics is about signals, concealing real intentions, bluffing, and entering into alliances that are not necessarily becoming. This is not the way to win admirers.

These were the other problems that Lech Walesa had to deal with during his visit to America in addition to those concerning his identity. Despite all the contradictions and conflicts arising out of the roles of the electrician

from Gdansk, the Noble laureate, the chairman of Solidarity, and the politician named Walesa, he demonstrated once again that he is our great political trump card—and we do not have too many of them.

Bush Approval of Aid for Poland Noted

LD2911133489 Warsaw PAP in English
1232 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, Nov. 29—U.S. President George Bush signed Tuesday a law granting 938 million dollars of assistance to Poland and Hungary, spread over a three-year period.

Poland is to receive 846 million dollars, of which 240 million would go for development of the private sector and another 200 million for international fund of stabilization.

The original sum which was appropriated by the U.S. Congress oscillated around 454 million dollars.

Foreign Policy Reviewed at News Conference

LD2811212289 Warsaw PAP in English
1923 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—"In Poland's foreign policy we are currently dealing at the same time with continuation and change," stated press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Stefan Staniszewski at the outset of a press conference held today.

"Continuation is respect of the to-date allied and international commitments of Poland, directing our activities on the international arena on securing an independent state. Change is accentuating political independence in internal matters, proceeding in relations between the allies from window-dressing. Monolithic unity to real partnership, Poland's fuller opening towards Europe and the world, guaranteeing the right and unconstrained development of our relations in all fields. At stake is making up for arrears in cooperation with the EEC, the U.S. and other economic world powers. This also pertains to the FRG.

"The recent visit of Chancellor Kohl to Poland brought a completely new, promising but at the same time complex quality of relations between Poland and the FRG. We have surely overcome the to-date impasse in official inter-state relations.

"One can notice certain new elements in Poland's approach to the issue of German unity. On my part I would like to point out that no one is denying the German nation the right to self-determination. Nonetheless, for Poland, the unity of Germany is naturally associated with the matter of the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers. It is obvious that states unite in existing borders. Hence, the future all-German sovereign (state) would have to take over GDR's commitments stemming from the Zgoorzelec Treaty of 1950 and the FRG's commitments stemming from the treaty of December 1970. Moreover, the possible future unification of Germany, for example in the form of a confederation of both states, can take place only with the consent of their citizens, the consent of the four victorious superpowers still empowered to co-decide about Germany as a whole, finally, the interests of remaining European states, particularly Germany's neighbours, must be taken into account. The whole problem is European and can be solved only with consent of all of Europe.

"Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the USSR which ended on Monday contributed to a large extent to the elimination of burdens of the past in our mutual relations, to basing economic and trade cooperation on normal, in other words mutually beneficial, principles. The visit and talks of the Polish premier in Moscow have shown that it is in the interest of the USSR to have a strong and stable ally in central Europe. On the other hand, Poland—in which the fast progress of democratic reforms would have been impossible without the support of the new Soviet leadership and Mikhail Gorbachev—needs backing by a friendly, democratic superpower under reform, one which counts on the global scale.

"In Polish-Soviet relations there is another important element which is coming to play: the situation of Poles residing in the USSR. This matter was touched upon during the recent visit of Minister Shevardnadze to Poland. At stake is creating a possibility of returning to their country to those Poles who did not make use of such an opportunity immediately after the war and at a later time, and above all to create such conditions in their current place of residence as to enable them to cultivate their Polishhood in an unconstrained manner. Under consideration is the opening of a Polish consulate in Kazakhstan. We will strive to speedily open our consular branch in Vilnius.

"Poland does not intend to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty. However, it wants to influence the Warsaw Treaty to take on a political-defence character. This cannot be a treaty attempting to interfere into the internal affairs of its members."

The spokesman next replied to questions. Here are his statements:

"We condemn the decisions of the GDR authorities as a result of which Polish citizens are discriminated against in that country. These decisions do not correspond to the situation. It is not the Poles who are the cause of market shortages in the GDR: The decisions of the GDR authorities contradict the decisions of the Helsinki Final Act. We are counting on the authorities of the GDR taking appropriate action to resolve this matter in the interest of both states.

"The conflict centering around the decision discriminating against Poles in the GDR should not however disturb the general relations between our countries. A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by General Director Boguslav Miernik leaves for the GDR

this evening. We hope that the talks will bring results and the GDR side will revise its to-date stand.

"We do not plan to establish diplomatic relations with Taiwan because we consider this territory to be an integral part of China. We are ready to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, nonetheless so far there is no such readiness on the other side. We have resumed consular relations with Chile. I think that following the elections in that country, we will also resume diplomatic relations. As goes for South Africa, we are seeking such a form of contacts which would be in Poland's interest. So far no decision has been made on that matter. During Monday's talks with Vice Premier Shimon Peres, Minister Skubiszewski announced that Poland decided to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. This could take place in the first quarter of next year.

"During the visit of FRG Chancellor Kohl, the Polish side did not neglect any matter, particularly that of the security of the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers. The statement signed by the heads of both governments is not some step backward as compared to the treaty of December 1970."

"The key criterion of the assessment of an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—which Minister Skubiszewski stressed in interviews—are his professional qualifications as well as loyalty towards the state and government. The political affiliation of candidates for this service will be of no significance in the future.

"In establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea Poland did not change its stance on the issue of unification of Korea.

"Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the USSR concluded in full success. The Soviet Union not only accepts Polish transformations but also expresses far-reaching readiness to expand mutual relations. During talks the sides took notice of the convergence in the assessment of the development of the situation in central European countries as well as the German issue. The sides discussed many not-easy spots but also issues of economic cooperation. Progress was reached on all matters."

Mazowiecki Discusses Meeting with Gorbachev

LD2911110289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] I do not deny. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki told the GAZETA WYBORCZA, that I left for Moscow with a certain tension. I have long wanted to go there, to get to know the city, people and atmosphere, and finally when my wish was granted, I went in at the very top. I had stage fright. In answer to the question, as to what kind of reception he received, the premier replied: It was direct with Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov from the first moment at the airport, his remarks in the car, the manner in which he carried on the conversation, all this created a very good atmosphere. Mikhail Gorbachev likewise, from the first words removed all barriers. He started at our meeting: Perhaps it may seem strange to some people, but I personally wish you success. The talks in his office lasted nearly 2 hours and were very direct, warm and well-disposed. He quite simply causes one to feel a great personal liking for him, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said.

Trade Links Between Poland, USSR Analysed

AU2811142189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Nov 89 pp 4,5

[Danuta Zagrodzka commentary: "Polish-USSR Trade—Exploitation or Profit?"]

[Text] These talks will not be easy. In Moscow, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has to agree the new binding shape of Polish-Soviet economic relations. The most logical way would be to base our economic relations with the USSR on the same principles used in trading with the West, that is, direct trade between individual enterprises at prevailing world prices.

One U.S. Dollar for 65 Kopecks

Hitherto, trade agreements were rather political contracts concluded at the highest levels and calculated according to peculiar prices—unheard of throughout the whole world—based on taking a mean average of world prices from the last 5 years. The transferable ruble, set at 65 kopecks to the U.S. dollar, is money that is practically worthless (the last devaluation of the ruble has not changed the situation, because it does not apply to these trade transactions).

Basing our trade on the principles that are binding in trade with the West, would be the most logical. Paradoxically, however, it is Poland that is likely to try and avoid such an end result. The Soviet Union itself is strongly pushing for the acceptance of the principle of world prices. It knows that its major key exports, raw materials such as crude oil, natural gas, and others, can easily be sold elsewhere for dollars.

In our export profile to the Soviet Union, raw materials make up only a dozen or so percent. The rest is composed of machinery, consumer goods, and foodstuffs. Most of these cannot be sold elsewhere for a reasonable price. The Soviet Union would not take these either, if it had to pay for them in real money. Salesmen from all over the world are in the Soviet Union today selling better and far more modern goods than ours.

Minister Marcin Swiecicki, recently stated to the Sejm Commission of Foreign Economic Cooperation that trade transactions with the Soviet Union at world prices would cost us an additional billion dollars. We simply would not be able to afford it.

Paradoxically, we come out rather better on the old peculiar system of calculations. With the fluctuation of oil prices, sometimes things went well, and sometimes they went badly for us. In 1978-80, for example, it went

badly for us. Nonetheless, a ton of crude oil from the East has always been cheaper for us than a ton from the West—if we take into consideration the whole calculation, namely, what we could sell and what we could not sell for dollars, and how much we would have had to pay in dollars.

Mutually Disadvantageous Relations

Is the general thesis that trade with the Soviet Union is unfavorable for us, or that it has meant the exploitation of Poland by its big neighbor, still tenable? We still await the promised report on Polish-Soviet economic relations which is due to appear in December.

As is now known, this report will not say anything about the first years after the war, which means it will not explain everything. However, that is the precise time when the structure of the Polish industry arose and was shaped—a mirror image of Soviet industrialization and its needs. This fact had the most important effect on the subsequent misfortunes of the Polish economy, rather than the unfavorable transactions. The Polish economy was forced into a straitjacket from which it is now difficult to extricate it. Against all appearances, the ready access to cheap raw materials and the possibility of easy sales of our dated and heavy machinery on the Soviet market has made us more dependent. There was no stimulus to cut energy costs. The oil price shock of the early 1970's forced the Western economies to do. We did not have to modernize anything, or economize on materials. Our dependence became even deeper. We now need increasing quantities of more expensive raw materials to produce goods that are dated and more difficult to sell. In the years 1971-1980, world commodity prices increased by 800 percent, but manufactured goods increased only by 250 percent. In economics, it is usual that he who sells machinery for raw materials makes a good profit on the transaction. In Poland it was otherwise.

We Are Only Capable of Half Normality

For over 40 years, there was nobody who could break this vicious circle until we reached the stage we now find ourselves in. Today, it is not courage that is lacking, and we know what has to be done, but we lack the money to rapidly normalize our relationship with the Soviet Union.

We must negotiate such an agreement which will guarantee us strategic raw materials on the principles that have prevailed hitherto. This basis can apply to about 50 percent of the current level of our trading transactions with the Soviet Union. The other 50 percent would now be on normal trade principles.

Such a 50:50 solution has certain problems—we have to pay for the gas, and crude oil with something. The Russians do not need so much of our machinery, but they do need clothes, shoes, and food. These are exactly the types of goods which are the least profitable using the present system of calculations. The enterprises that lose on this trade are subsidized by the state which draws on the money that is paid into the state budget by the enterprises which process crude oil. This arrangement clouds the whole economic calculation and will be a complicating factor in the process of normalization and restructuring of our economy.

Another matter that still remains outstanding is the question of financial calculations used for capital construction projects in the USSR. Using its monopoly position, the USSR demanded from the states who purchased its raw materials, participation in capital construction projects on its territory. Poland is involved in several of such capital projects. They are financially costed according to Soviet norms, which are perceptibly lower. At times they are two or three times lower than those used for normal transactions. According to Polish calculations, the total value of our participation in these capital projects amounts to R5.2 million, and not R2.6 million as calculated by the Russians. Additionally, on the one hand, these investment projects are always suffering delays, and on the other hand, there is no sign of the promised increased deliveries of raw materials. Continuation of these agreements on the current terms has absolutely no sense, and they have to be included in the upcoming talks.

There is also the issue of our debts. We owe the Soviet Union about R6.5 billion and $1.5 billion. These debts arose during the so-called period of reorientation to the East after the declaration of martial law. As we are demanding the rescheduling of repayments we owe to the West—and there is a good chance that we shall succeed in getting them postponed—we should expect the same treatment from the East.

The negotiations in these and many other matters have been going on for some time now, and we now need to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's."

Anniversary of Polish-Soviet Society Noted

LD2311105189 Warsaw PAP in English 0049 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—A meeting of activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPPR) and a concert were held here today to mark the 45th anniversary of setting up the society.

Participants in the meeting read out also letters addressed to all TPPR members by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

Friendship and cooperation with the USSR is a question of great importance and the key reason of state for all responsibly thinking Poles, Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his letter.

The TPPR brought real and valuable contribution to the building and development of Polish-Soviet relations.

People now discuss broadly problems of the past and contemporary shape of Polish-Soviet relations. Sweeping changes, taking place in our both countries, open up new possibilities of action before your organization. These changes should enrich everything that unites, at the same time eliminating negative stereotypes and prejudices.

I wish the TPPR to still contribute to the shaping of the ever-deeper, genuine ties, fraternal friendship of the peoples of Poland and the USSR, using hitherto attainments enriched with new initiatives, Wojciech Jaruzelski wrote.

We are not only witnesses but also active participants in deep and complex processes of renewal and stormy changes taking place worldwide, Mikhail Gorbachev said in his letter.

Dedication to the cause of mutual respect and rapprochement of peoples certainly fosters better knowledge of the contradictions of our times. It helps each of our countries go forward. These are lasting humanistic values and they were shared, defended and consolidated by best progressive representatives of Poland and Russia always and in all epochs, Mikhail Gorbachev wrote.

The Soviet Union's society and leadership are sincerely grateful to your society for its multi-lateral and noble activity that serves to deepen mutual understanding between millions of Polish and Soviet citizens and to broaden the areas of fruitful Polish-Soviet contacts.

I have a conviction that your society will continue to take creative steps to preserve and augment all these good traditions and attainments that have been present in Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Jaruzelski's Greetings

AU2811173989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter from President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on the occasion of the society's 45th anniversary—date and place not given]

[Text] I am sending my warmest regards to all members and activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the society.

Friendship and cooperation with the USSR is a matter of the utmost importance and the cornerstone of the Polish raison d'etat for all seriously thinking Poles.

The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has made an important and valuable contribution to the development of Polish-Soviet relations.

The problems of the Polish-Soviet past and the shape of the two countries' future relationship are now being widely debated. The fundamental changes that are taking place in both our countries are opening up new opportunities of action for your organization. This action should aim at enriching everything that unites us, but at the same time it should strive to eliminate all the negative stereotypes and prejudices.

The thousands of your activists who are dedicated to the idea of friendship and cooperation, have made a tangible contribution to the process that is bringing the two societies together and is increasing knowledge about each other. This activity has to be continued with increased effort.

Thanking you all for your efforts to date, I would at the same time like to hope that the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society—basing itself on its past successes, and enriched by its new initiatives—continues to contribute to the shaping of even deeper and more real links of fraternal friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

I wish all the activists and members of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society a much deserved reward, continued good health, and further successes.

Rakowski's Greetings

AU2811170889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter from Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship on the occasion of the society's 45th anniversary—date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and citizens,

On this 45th anniversary of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship and acting on behalf of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, I convey to you, and the entire organization and all its members, sincere thanks for your efforts to bring the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union closer together as well as wishes of further success in this work.

You are an organization, but also a social movement at the same time. Guided by the Polish raison d'etat and humanist ideas of friendship between peoples, your society plays an important role in strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperation with our greatest neighbor, in propagating the traditions of common social struggles and struggles of national liberation, and removing the prejudices and antagonisms with which our history has not been sparing.

The profound changes that are currently taking place in both Poland and the Soviet Union create new objective conditions for raising Polish-Soviet ties to a new, higher level, for lending full expression to the values of democratic socialism present in them, and for eliminating everything that has hindered genuine mutually advantageous cooperation. We are following with interest and goodwill the way in which the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship is participating in this process by means of new initiatives, how it is seeking the most appropriate forms for expressing the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship, and how, by rejecting all stereotypes, formalism, and

ceremony, it is trying to give the humanist idea of friendship and brotherhood between peoples a broad social character.

Dear comrades and citizens, please accept the assurance that our party will continue to support these activities and that it will render every possible assistance to the cause that you serve.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Russian Alliance Crucial for Poland

AU2811191489 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-26 Nov 89 p 4

[Jerzy Lazarowicz commentary: "Written on the Banks of the Vistula—Drang nach Frieden" (German term for "Drive for Peace" used)]

[Text] Chancellor Kohl's visit is now over and both sides involved in that political dialogue are now calmly assessing the results of that visit, some of which are easy and others less easy to calculate. No doubt the visit will produce new political and economic facts, and in the future historians will pronounce it an important element in the process of European normalization. Let us hope that they will also be able to state that the visit achieved a real breakthrough in the relationship between our two countries, and that the nation that succeeded in exterminating almost one out of every five Poles in a single generation; a nation that razed to the ground the material achievements of the Polish state which arose in 1918; a nation which pushed the Polish state into the complex—and at times nightmarish—decades that followed; that this nation, now represented by a new political orientation, really did extend a helping hand of effective economic assistance, and at long last rejected the tradition of its eastward expansion.

The German politicians have returned home, the governments of the two countries have returned to their everyday—at times sensational—preoccupations, the appropriate institutions have begun to incorporate the various obligations stemming from the signed agreements into their activity, leaving the two nations with their own reflections. There is a great deal to think about.

For the Poles, a rather novel psychological situation has arisen owing to the fact that the unilateral vision of relations between the two states, based on the existence of a lasting Iron Curtain and a black-white stereotyped picture, is rapidly—thank God—beginning to lose its topicality. New hopes, calculations, mirages, "wishful thinking," and also creative new desires for a peaceful cooperative Europe are now replacing the 40-year old political doctrines.

Taking seriously the Bundestag's declaration on the right of the Poles to live in their frontiers and unchallenged by force—declarations, which regrettably were not fully affirmed during the visit—and giving credence to all the statements made by Chancellor Kohl and the agreements signed by him, we must not forget about the absolute cast-iron principle of international politics, namely, the interest of the state is the highest objective and takes precedence over any treaty or declaration. In other words, the permanence of what is new and good in Polish-German politics depends not just on the usefulness of this orientation for Poland, but on whether, and for how long, this political line will be seen as advantageous by the Germans themselves.

The reconciliation, symbolized by the splendid gesture of the Polish Premier Mazowiecki and German Chancellor Kohl during the Mass in Krzyzowa, was an event that brought psychological relief. It is quite understandable in moral and human categories, and it was very necessary, because one cannot ad infinitum continue to regard one of our neighbors (geographically, somewhat further away today than previously, but looming closer if we look at the historical perspective) as evil incarnate.

Should we in a moment of relief happen to forget about a certain cardinal truth applicable to our geopolitical area, we can rest assured that our German partner will not lose sight of it even for a split second.

This cardinal truth stems from the fact that the Germans have always looked at Poland in the context of their Russian policy. Be it a conciliatory or an antagonistic policy, the German evaluation of the situation in the east will never exclude the fact of the existence of a triangle of interests, namely Russia-Poland-Germany.

Over the last 300 years, international policy in our part of Europe has unchangingly shifted alo ig the axis of this very triangle. To state here that we have fully experienced the operation of this principle on our very own skins would be to state the obvious. We have also experienced the effects of the theory of "equidistance" from both neighbors, that is to say, the theory of two enemies—although to be just, one has to admit that the transient and tragic period during which we adhered to this policy did not give us any other alternatives.

This triangle always has the same base of alliance-combinations, but its apex can be in a different and changeable relation to this base (not all triangles, including the marital one, are always equilateral). We must not forget that, for obvious reasons, for Germany—were it to have a free choice —Russia is the more attractive partner. Frederick II with Catherine the Great; and Hitler with Stalin have been exponents of this vision, called the "spirit of Rapallo" in modern Polish political thought. This vision always begins to revive when we lose a sense of reality.

Does this fact—in the name of a Polish-Russian alliance—of necessity always imply an antagonism between the Poles and the Germans, the inevitability of a position of confrontation, and the adoption by Poland of the "bulwark of the East" role? Our unequivocal answer to this question has to be a resounding no. The reconciliation between our two peoples has to be constructed on

realism, and must not be detached from European realities—it must always take into account the Russian denominator.

Despite the fact that in German eyes Russia has always been and will continue to be a more attractive partner, Polish endeavors and policies should be directed to create a situation where we will always be a closer, a more necessary, a better partner for Russia—without, at the same time, being a competitor in Russia's relations with Germany. Our input into European politics as an ally of a non-imperialist Russia, as a mediator and modulator of the improvement in the relations between Russia and Germany is an essential and organic factor in this improvement. Here Polish interests, the interests of peace, and the interests of our two powerful neighbors would all coincide. However, by turning our backs on the Russians and constructing the coexistence of Poland and Germany as if we were the only two countries on a desert island would be a childish fantasy. I would put it even more strongly, if we forget about Russia in our rapprochement with Germany, then sooner or later Germany will betray us. This betrayal will be dictated by the interests of the German state, and not even the best intentions of its elites will be able to oppose it.

All thought about the problem of the Germans cannot ignore the possibility of German unification. In practical terms, we will not have the slightest bit of influence on this process if we are an "isolated" partner of European politics. However, we could exercise some influence on the conditions under which this process develops by moving along the alliance-combinations base of the mentioned triangle. As the late Franz Josef Strauss said, the key to German unification lies in Moscow.

Newspaper on Reconciliation With Germany

LD2811185689 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—Although reluctantly we must polemize today with TRYBUNA LUDU and its newest star. We write in reply to an article of the "Mr Urban Today" cycle because it concerns the German issue. Jacek Moskwa of the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote today.

An uncontrolled development of events in the GDR, hard to forsee still a few months ago, has caused that the prospect of unification, or rather of East Germany being absorbed by the FRG, has become very probable.

Jerzy Urban states that signing the joint declaration the Polish Government has made a serious mistake by failing to take the advantage of the chance created by the fact that the collapse of the (Berlin) Wall has awakened Europe's and Poland's old fears of too strong Germany. Under the circmstances Chancellor Kohl would, allegedly, have been more inclined to make a reassuring gesture.

Politics is an art of using possibilities. Even assuming that it is in Poland's interest to encourage the head of the FRG Government to act already now on behalf of united Germany one can hardly suspect people so much experienced in conducting the Polish-German dialogue as Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Tadeusz Pszon of giving up rashly the chance for stronger border guarantees.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki has chosen a different road. It is a road of reconciliation through mutual foregiveness. A road of search for common values of Christian tradition and tradition of anti-Hitlerite resistance, shared also by the better Germany. This is also a road of active policy on the crucial direction of our foreign policy.

Does this road mean disregard for a potential German threat? I think that one should rather look for the signs of it in the growing civilizational gap and the difference in the potentials of the two countries.

Such dangers can be counteracted only by means of active policy using every chance of raising our country and not through limiting oneself to pondering on one own's past reasons, Jacek Moskwa concluded.

Spokesman on German Deaths After World War II

LD2811212589 Warsaw PAP in English
1929 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—Spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry Stefan Staniszewski today commented on the statement by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl who said during his visit to Poland recently that some 2 million citizens of German nationality died during the evacuation and escape from the Third Reich's eastern regions after the end of WW 2. Staniszewski said in part:

Resettlement of population connected with the 2nd World War affected tens of millions of people. They brought misery and suffering and death to many of them.

It is paradoxical that the first, and the biggest, stage of the Germans' retreat from central and eastern Europe was the work of Germans themselves. Nazi authorities issued orders of immediate evacuation which frequently turned into chaotic flight. The biggest exodus of German population took place during the Soviet Army's January offensive in 1945.

Beginning from mid-1945 resettlement of German population was carried out in accordance with Chapter 13 of the Potsdam Agreement (concluded by the U.S.A., USSR and Britain, and which was later on joined by France), the plan of the allied Council of Supervision of Germany of November 20, 1945 and the Polish-British and Polish-Soviet agreements to the plan. All in all some 3.2 million Germans were deported from Poland to Germany between 1945 and 1949, chiefly to the Soviet and British occupation zones.

The resettlement of Germans from Poland to Germany was carried out, as confirmed by numerous Polish and

Allied documents, in an organized and maximally humanitarian manner as for the then conditions. It was conducted under the supervision of the Allies and in keeping with the concluded specific international agreements.

Because of evacuation the majority of Germans suffered in the period till May, 1945. Therefore, Poland cannot be blamed for the 2-million losses of the German population between 1944-1945. Moreover, one should not confuse causes and effects of the Second World War.

Commentary Views Problem of German Unity

AU2811172089 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24-26 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Jerzy Markowski commentary: "Now That The German Problem Has Returned"]

[Excerpts] Right now there is probably no reason at all to preserve diplomatic courtesy at a time when everyone is talking about demolishing the Berlin Wall and the system established at Yalta. Instead, it ought to be honestly said that the German problem is reappearing for everyone, whether we like it or not. It will now be necessary to consider a completely new "structure" of European security. President Mitterrand mentioned this a few days ago, saying that "the European system in force so far is coming to an end, and it is necessary to find a new one in its place." What will the new system be? What will happen to the military alliances that have guaranteed the "old system"? What will happen to Europe if the Russians withdraw their forces from the middle of the continent and the Americans go back across the Atlantic? Could German unification occur only after serious reductions to all armies, including the German armies? Would not a united Germany be too powerful and probably too aggressive, and would it be possible to keep it under control? Fear of the unknown is taking the place of the euphoria caused by the disappearance of the Wall.

For it is true that a certain arrangement that was clear, straightforward, and tested for 4 decades is starting to disappear before our very eyes. We had grown accustomed to it. Everyone knew that Germany had been defeated and divided into two mutually antagonistic states. On the one hand there was a Pax Americana and on the other a Pax Sovietica, and there was no question of any unification. Several years later, NATO and the Warsaw Pact emerged, which embraced both German states and thus effectively resolved the German question. One can say that this was the only issue in which the two political-military blocs cooperated with each other without any special agreement. Now that the military factor in European politics is weakening and disarmament processes are becoming more successful, this state of affairs is changing. This is also encouraged by the general tendency to overcome the division of Europe. Everyone in his right mind knows that the division of Europe can only be overcome if the division of Germany is overcome, and therefore the military factor—the presence of American forces in the FRG and Soviet forces in the GDR—remains the decisive factor. It is obvious to everyone that the FRG is the pillar of NATO in Europe, without which the alliance would lose its raison d'etre. So would a Soviet sphere of security bordering on the Odra River or, even more probably, the Bug River, in other words the very foundation of the Warsaw Pact. Without this, Poland would find itself in the epicenter of a European political "earthquake" which has already started in any case.

Of course the convenient old stability has not collapsed yet, but now that the German problem has resurfaced, it is shaking heavily. After the Soviet Army, the National People's Army and Bundeswehr are the most powerful armies in Europe. That is why it is difficult to imagine a united Germany, which would not be bound by any coalitional system which imposes certain restrictions on the deployment of armed forces. I am not suggesting that the military potential of a united Germany would be used the way the Wehrmacht was used, but the very existence of such a Germany would cast doubt on the future of European stability. Equally comprehensible is the doubt whether a united Germany would agree to its shrunken postwar size. A united Germany might not want to forsake nuclear weapons for good. What then? Or take the question of self-determination. It is not a matter of indifference with whom the future Germany would conclude an alliance. For these and similar reasons, the re-emerging problem of German unity is considered by most European states to be dangerous. [passage omitted]

It transpires that with the rapid speed of the changes taking place in central Europe, the two blocs serve as stabilizers of the situation. Thanks to the forces stationed on German soil, the powers have great influence on German events. That allays one's fears of the uknown, including Poland's fears.

Urban Comments on Kohl Visit, German Unity

AU2411213789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 89 p 3

[Jerzy Urban article: "The Sting That Follows The Kisses"]

[Text] The Polish Government has assessed Kohl's visit in very favorable terms. I do not completely agree, and I think that the Polish official assessment covers up the political mistakes by the new government. Some of these mistakes are minor and circumstantial, but one of them is very big.

The big mistake was the celebration of reconciliation in Krzyzowa and an exchange of kisses there of all places by the heads of the governments of the FRG and Poland. I think it would have been better if the Von Moltke estate, the meeting place of the conspirators who led to the abortive coup of July 1944, had played host to the FRG

chancellor in the company of a lower-level Polish entourage, and if Premier Mazowiecki had chosen to embrace the chancellor in another part of the regained territories, or even in Warsaw. For in Krzyzowa there were clear accents of German nationalism, and the waving banners and Polish citizens chanting "Kohl, you are our chancellor" hit out against the head of the Polish Government. There were more displays like this, anyway. Contrary to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's opinion about Krzyzowa, presented by his spokesman during the press conference at the Marriott Hotel, these displays did not form a proper background or climate for reconciliation. At the same time, it is difficult for Poles to forget that, given all the heroism and suffering of the people belonging to the Krzyzowa circle, the program of Gerdeler, their political leader and candidate for the post of chancellor, foresaw a peace treaty with the Western allies, but also the continuation of the war in the east (in other words in Poland) and in the preservation of post-1914 German borders, which would have meant a Poland devoid of Katowice, Poznan, and Bydgoszcz. Those concepts of the German anti-Hitler right wing are purely historical today, and our reluctance to commemorate the events that happened on the Von Moltke estate was too superficial for my liking. Nevertheless, it is bad when at a time of change, Polish politics moves from one extreme to the other.

It is bad, too, that there was no official response to the unfortunate wording of Helmut Kohl's dinner toast whereby the chancellor followed his general and terse remark about the terrible suffering of Poles at the hands of Germans with the phrase: "However, it is also true that more than 2 million Germans, innocent people, lost their lives during escape and expulsion." In my view, the chief responsibility for this crime against the Germans rests also on the German authorities of the time, and Mr Kohl ought not to have transferred it to the balance sheet of Polish faults.

As one TRYBUNA LUDU reader correctly noticed, it is the Hitlerite authorities at the end of the war who ordered and ruthlessly implemented the evacuation of the German population from what is now Polish western territory. This occurred when the Soviet and Polish Armies drew near. It is this evacuation, in great frost and under a hail of bombs and shells, that caused great human losses. Also, many Germans willingly fled before the Soviet Army.

Therefore, the repatriation, which caused great loss, concerned mainly the Germans themselves. Even though they were painful and full of inhuman episodes, the Polish postwar migrations involved far fewer Germans living on the Odra and Nysa Rivers. Besides, not all of the Germans involved in the migrations were innocent; their attitudes toward Hitlerism and involvement in Hiterite authority and warfare were various. The chancellor should have been reminded of this gently and tactfully, so that the improvement in mutual relations might not be based on a distortion of truth, and might not cause the Poles to aquiesce to unjustified accusations.

In a speech which he made in Szczecin just a few years ago, Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed his understanding for the "grief" (suffered by migrants) caused by the loss of the "fatherland" which Kohl referred to in Warsaw. However, one ought to remember that if these resettlements had not occurred in the second half of the 1940's, the process of improving FRG-Polish relations would have been impossible or extremely difficult today, and the prospects of full reconciliation would have been remote. It is easy to imagine what might have happened if a several million-strong German minority lived on Polish territory in close proximity to the border of a German state.

The FRG would probably have been unable to conclude the 1970 treaty, FRG politics would contain nothing on the subject of German unification within the shape established at Potsdam, and perhaps even the GDR might have treated our Western territories the same way as the Hungarians treat Transylvania. The grief of repatriated people is an important factor, but the political necessity of repatriation is also worth mentioning from Poland's point of view, because without that repatriation the postwar European order might have been so unstable that the Polish situation in 1989 would have ruled out the possibility of a Tadeusz Mazowiecki government, the government of a premier who, after all, displays Western sympathy. Instead, the integrity of the Polish state would have been dependent on unilateral links with the USSR.

On the subject of the permanence of the Polish border, which is a key issue for us, the joint statement concluded by Chancellor Kohl in Poland, a political document, does not go a single step beyond all the previous documents on the subject of Polish-FRG relations concluded by previous Polish governments. The present declaration only talks of the validity of the 1970 treaty. As we know, the FRG provides a different interpretation of this treaty, an interpretation supported by the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, and this interpretation is different to Poland's. Aiming to gradually improve mutual relations, the governments of Poland and the FRG transcended these differences of interpretation and brush these matters aside. On our part, this was an appropriate and constructive gesture, representing a method of politics that is marked by thinking in terms of the future.

In my personal opinion, a joint declaration with such formulations on the subject of the Polish border should not have been concluded now. One should have waited, been more stubborn, even postponed Kohl's visit. There are two arguments that justify such a view.

As we know, it is the West German Christian Democrats who imposed such an interpretation of the 1970 treaty on the subject of Poland's western border, saying that this treaty only concerns the country that bears the name

RG, but does not apply to a future united Germany, hose borders they want to settle by means of a peace eaty, because they insist on and are counting on such a eaty. In other words, if Germany were to unite, oland's western border would once again be subject to egotiations. In his talks with Chancellor Kohl, ojciech Jaruzelski firmly argued against such an inter- etation of the treaty, which renders it provisional.

n the eve of Kohl's arrival, the FRG parliament dopted a resolution that favorably transcends the above hristian Democrat interpretation of the 1970 treaty, hich interpretation is still valid in FRG law. The FRG arliament declared that not just the FRG, but Germany general (the word "Germany" can mean either a ypothetical future state, or people, because the word s two meanings in Polish) would not question the olish border either now or in the future. The head of overnment of every democratic state, including the RG chancellor, is an executor of the will of parliament. hus, Helmut Kohl was obliged to quote this formula- on in the Polish-West German joint communique. The olish side should have enforced this formulation, owledgeable of the support of the majority of the West erman parliament, including deputies from the Social emocratic Party, liberals, Greens, and some Christian emocrats.

nother reason which should have prompted the Polish overnment to prolong negotiations and insist on the rmulation adopted by the West German parliament lso used recently by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher d by the FRG president) is that something extremely portant and new took place during Kohl's visit but fore the signing of the joint declaration—the Berlin all collapsed.

M.F. Rakowski said in an interview for PAP, every stern and Western politician is saying that just cause the FRG-GDR border is open does not mean t the unification of Germany, in other words a change the postwar structure of Europe, has begun. Everyone ys that because they want Germany's division to last as g as possible. FRG politicians are also saying that er the fall of the Berlin Wall, they are not rushing to ite with the GDR because they want to calm the SSR, the GDR authorities, Poland, France, England, United States, and all other countries that do not ctly dream of German unification.

politics, just like in life, facts are more important than rds. Having been an intensive producer of words all life, I can assure you of the truth of that statement. wever, the facts are such that a rapid process of egrating the two German states has commenced. The gration of people must bring GDR prices in line with G prices, or else FRG citizens will buy up everything ide GDR shops, where prices are several times lower. e logical consequence of the open border is that many ople will work in one Berlin and live in the other rlin. The same thing can happen along the Elbe River. cial, cultural, and technological amalgamation and an integration of transport and communications are further automatic consequences of what has just happened.

The economic links between the FRG and GDR must quickly consolidate. It is in the FRG's economic and political interests to stop the exodus of GDR citizens to the FRG. This can only be achieved by means of a generous transfer of capital, West German investments in the GDR, the establishment of West German enterprises there, and so on.

It is difficult to predict when these rapid integration processes will make a confederation of the two German states or some other form of political-legal union a topical issue. Despite what the politicians say, it is obvious that there is a prospect of this happening and it is not a distant one. At a time that sees the inauguration of this process in practice, Poland should not have signed the political document that referred solely to the ambiguously interpreted 1970 treaty with respect to border questions. This is because something fundamental has changed with respect to prospects for Polish-German relations. In light of this new situation, the Polish raison d'etat required a stronger form of assurance in the bilateral document.

In addition, the Polish Government should not have signed the Kohl-Mazowiecki declaration for tactical reasons. The knocking down of the Wall has inclined the FRG Government to make conciliatory gestures toward other states, including Poland. Thus, one could have assumed that the FRG Government had suddenly obtained a stronger immediate interest in being sympathetic to the Polish viewpoint, in calming the Poles and diminishing their mistrust with respect to integration processes concerning the two German states. Viewed from the German angle, the success of these processes does to some modest extent depend on the degree of Polish tolerance. So we signed the document with a potentially much milder Kohl than the one who had arrived Poland.

I think that a representative of the Polish United Workers Party Deputies' Club should submit an official question to the government about why the premier failed to exploit the situation and why the Polish side was so inflexible that it could be accused of amateurishness, of seizing upon economic benefits while disregarding the political aspect of relations.

The entire substance of all the other results produced by the visit—the political, the cultural, and the economic—is, in my opinion, advantageous for Poland, and I stress this in order to avoid being counted among those who are obsessed by the German problem, or even among those who are considered anti-German chauvinists.

Thus, the Polish Government committed a serious mistake, but this does not mean that it should now be nothing but an observer of FRG-GDR integration processes. It would be disastrous, if it were to pursue a passive German policy, that is, if it were to continue to simply react to facts that emerge in central Europe and

Europe generally without displaying any initiative on our own part. This calls for thought about whether it does not lie in Poland's interests to propose to the FRG, the GDR, and the four powers that a peace treaty be concluded with the two German states.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski is right (interview for PAP) when he says that it is very strange to conclude a peace treaty half a century after the end of a war, when its various effects have taken their course, because history has moved on considerably since 1945. It would mean introducing issues from the distant past into current politics. The FRG says that it would also like such a treaty. However, Poland is interested in a treaty that would settle its borders and the question of compensation. Who knows whether it does not lie in our interest to conclude such a treaty while there are still two German states, including one that is geographically close to us and with which we are friends. This would be better for Poland than if there was to be a peace treaty once a strong and great German power in some form or another already exists in Europe. I assume that Poland would be one of the parties to such a treaty.

My proposal is a form of political improvisation: It has not been thought through nor has it been discussed with experts. It is simply food for thought.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Regional Developments

LD2811222389 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The latest developments in the countries of our region offer a chance of stepping up the process of switching in bilateral and multilateral contacts to new forms of cooperation and essentially reforming the CMEA, stated Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski.

We welcome and support changes initiated by the present GDR authorities aiming at democratization of socio-political relations and restructuring of economy. The GDR's embarking upon the road of reforms is of immense significance both for Poland and for the whole of Europe. It creates better conditions for the development of bilateral cooperation.

In his conversation with GDR ambassador in Warsaw on November 21, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed that the consolidation of the German Democratic Republic, which is one of the fundamental goals of the new government headed by Premier Hans Modrow, was convergent with the interests of security and success of efforts to overcome the divisions in Europe.

We also welcome with appreciation changes initiated in Czechoslovakia. We attach great importance to good neighbourly relations with that state.

General principles of Polish foreign policy fully relate to Czechoslovakia and developments there. We believe that in keeping with the principle of free choice Czechoslovak society should decide itself about the direction of its future internal development.

We follow with interest the current events in friendly Bulgaria. We approach with sympathy the serious changes in the socio-political and economic life announced in that country.

Rakowski's Sends Message to CSSR's Urbanek

AU2911142989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—To mark Karel Urbanek's appointment to the post of general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], sent him a telegram of congratulations. The telegram contains, among other things, wishes for a successful development of sociopolitical reforms in Czechoslovakia, and expresses the conviction that the friendship and cooperation that join the PZPR and CPCZ will continue to encourage an enhancement of the comprehensive relations between both countries.

Mazowiecki, Rakowski Receive Danish Official

LD2411042489 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—Denmark's Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, now in Poland, today held political and economic talks.

The Danish minister was received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. During talks on prospects of cooperation between both countries and selected issues of the situation in Europe, Ellemann-Jensen relayed an invitation for Premier Mazowiecki to pay a visit to Denmark.

During talks, the Danish foreign minister and Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski discussed bilateral relations and European issues. Both ministers expressed interest in the development of events, particularly in Eastern Europe, stressing that countering destabilization in Europe was the paramount matter. Reviewing bilateral relations, both ministers assessed them as good though they stressed that there were still possibilities of further boosting them. Ellemann-Jensen announced that his government agreed to the creation of an honorary Polish consulate in Bornholm and to speed up talks on a delineation of the sea in the vicinity of this island.

The Danish foreign minister met with Polish Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki. Swiecicki had this to say in an interview for PAP following the meeting" :I am happy that the Danish Government will ponder granting Poland some credits on easy terms and government credit guarantees which will undoubtedly contribute to the inflow of Danish

capital to the Polish market. Work is under way in Copenhagen on a document on mutual protection of investments."

Ellemann-Jensen and Economic Minister Witold Trzeciakowski signed a memorandum under which the Governments of Poland and Denmark will back cooperation in the field of the heating industry. The document must be signed before the Danish parliament can start legislative procedures. One could expect that an intergovernment agreement on long-term cooperation and Danish assistance in the reconstruction of the Polish power industry and more rational utilization of energy in Poland will be signed in February 1990.

The Danish minister and a group of Danish industrialists met with Polish Vice Minister of Finance Janusz Sawicki who presented the key provisions of the economic stabilization program. He also discussed the state of negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and groups of Poland's creditors. Ellemann-Jensen confirmed the creation of a 300-million-krona fund aimed at supporting private enterprise and joint ventures in Poland.

The Danish foreign minister also met with Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski who briefed the guest on the process of democratic transformations in Poland and within the PUWP.

Kuron Announces Draft Laws on Strikes

LD2811232989 Warsaw PAP in English
2156 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—Today Polish Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron presented on Polish TV draft regulations concerning strikes which had been worked out by his ministry.

Our draft sets two conditions: A strike cannot be staged before two weeks since the decision is made in this respect and over 50 percent of the workforce should give consent to a strike in a referendum, he stated.

Moreover, strikers should not be paid by employers but by the union organization that should pay for the time of strike.

The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) rejected the ministry's draft, saying that it does not conform to law.

We are ready to discuss amendments, but the OPZZ stand shows their unwillingness for discussion, they simply want to reject this draft, Kuron said.

Politburo Examines Sociopolitical Analysis

LD2811232889 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Central Committee Politburo has examined an analysis drawn up by experts concerning the sociopolitical processes currently taking place in Poland. The analysis considers the current and envisaged directions of political and propaganda attacks against the Polish United Workers Party. It was stressed that they constitute an integral part of the strategic concept of the forces of the right, aiming at a rapid transformation of the system in the Polish peoples republic in line with their interests. This creates the threat of destablization of the situation in Poland. It weakens the achievement of accord among Poles.

Gdansk Militia Forms Own Trade Union

LD2811151489 Warsaw PAP in English
1057 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 28—A voivodship founding committee of an independent trade union of militia functionaries has been set up here following an initiative of the officers from the municipal office of internal affairs. The idea won the support of militia functionaries from all over the region.

The committee aims to seek the creation of legal basis which would allow militia functionaries to associate in trade unions and work for setting up similar initiatives in other parts of the country.

Communist Party Member Elected Gdansk President

LD2411133389 Warsaw PAP in English
1644 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 23—The Municipal People's Council in the northern city of Gdansk today elected Jerzy Pasinski new president of Gdansk with 61 votes for from the total number of 109 votes.

Scientific worker at Gdansk Technical University, Pasinski (42) who is member of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) was elected in the first round of voting from among four candidates representing the PUWP, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the Solidarity.

Sejm Commission Invalidates Gdynia Election

LD2411112289 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer Aleksandra Jakubowska] In July, the OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group] met Prof Ewa Letowska. Today, she was a guest of the Polish United Workers Party parliamentary floor group. The deputies also heard a report on a meeting of the Sejm

Commission for Regulations and Deputies' Affairs concerning 37 protests submitted to the Supreme Court after the June elections.

[Begin unidentified Sejm commission representative recording] As many as eight protests concerned the election of the deputy from Constituency No 22 in Gdynia, Mandate 89. The Commission, having examined the protests, decided that a breach of the electoral law did take place and, consequently, has declared invalid the election of the deputy bearing this mandate. This is an unprecedented case in the history of the Polish Sejm. However, the Sejm will make a final decision in this matter. I want to say that the breach of the electoral law in this specific case occured because only one candidate was running in the last stage of the election, and in practice the electors did not have any choice. [end recording]

OKP Holds Session, Discusses Draft Laws

LD2311072989 Warsaw PAP in English 0212 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—The drafts of several laws, that are to be examined at the coming Sejm meetings, were one of the topics of a session of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club (OKP) today.

OKP members were told about results of the joint meeting of the presidia of floor groups of the OKP, the United Peasant and Democratic Parties. The meeting concerned the common motion by the three floor groups on the "small" amendment to the Constitution envisaging the subordination of the Public Prosecutor's Office to the justice minister and replacing the presidential supervision over people's councils with the Sejm supervision.

The debaters deemed it purposeful to consult with the president the proposals limiting his powers.

PZPR Reformer's Statements; Spokesman Responds

AU2411082589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 89 p 2

[Staff member's report: "8 July Movement Statement"; including Polish United Workers Party Central Committee response]

[Text] The editorial board of TRYBUNA LUDU has been asked to publish the following two statements by the 8 July Movement National Coordinating Committee:

Stance

The debate that took place at the 16th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee plenum no longer makes it possible to uphold the party leadership's thesis concerning party unity. The debate clearly revealed the existence of two tendencies: a reformist one and a conservative one. In light of this situation everyone, from the rank-and-file member to the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, has to decide whether he is for a new party that stands for democratic socialism or for a revamped party that looks back nostalgically to the old order of the PZPR. We appeal to all party members to demand that candidate delegates to the 11th Congress clearly set out how the break with the PZPR should be made and how a new party of the left should be set up as well as their:

—position on Marxism and Leninism as the ideological principles of the new party;

—attitude toward the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum resolution as a decision paving the way to the formation of a parliamentary democracy that we fully accept.

Warsaw, 11 November 1989.

Open Letter to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the Central Congress Commission

The campaign preceding the 11th Congress is a time of ideological, political, and organizational preparation for the building of a new party that stands for democratic socialism. The new party's program can only emerge from a completely free debate and as the product of a clash of political views and personalities. It is therefore impermissible to constrain, pressure, or even intimidate party activists who have unequivocally committed themselves to the 8 July Movement. We protest using the reduction in the party apparatus that is underway to remove those apparatus employees who have committed themselves to building a party based on democratic socialism. We appeal to the party leadership to oppose the revival of politically motivated purge practices and to oblige echelons to respect the principles that were adopted at the 13th and 15th Central Committee plenums. The 8 July Movement considers it its duty to defend the reformers in the party.

8 July Movement National Coordinating Committee. Warsaw, 11 November 1989.

Statement by the PZPR Central Committee Press Spokesman

TRYBUNA LUDU's Izabella Wajszczuk asked Jan Bisztyga, the PZPR Central Committee press spokesman, whether it was already known how the events referred to in the open letter had come about. He said:

"I would like to say something about both texts. We respect the 8 July Movement for being so active and for stimulating political thought in the party. This has been emphasized many times by many PZPR politicians. These statements issued by 8 July Movement activists that I have read are evidence of nervousness and dogmatism, which are harmful in politics in any form. I do not agree that the course of the 16th plenum was proof of a split in the party. I am pleased that I have lived to see

arguments at Central Committee sessions aimed at making assessments accord with reality and making activity effective.

"As for the open letter, I reject as false the charges of intimidation and of a discriminatory policy of dismissing PZPR apparatus employees for having associated themselves with the 8 July Movement. The one case cited by Comrade Zbigniew Siemiatowski concerns a transfer from a voivodship committee managerial position to a lower one in view of the elimination of that post, which is the case with many positions in the entire apparatus.

"However, the letter talks about the reduction in the apparatus being used as a pretext to remove awkward people.

"In response to that one example, I could provide two examples of 8 July Movement members being promoted in other voivodships. However, I think that that misses the point. The most important thing is that all arguments should serve the common interest of forming an efficient party of the left that has the strong support of the people."

New TV Director General Named

LD2411030789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] On the recommendation of Andrzej Drawicz, chairman of the radio and television committee, the premier has appointed Andrzej Bober to the post of director general of Polish television.

Urban Named Director of New Press Agency

LD2911022989 Warsaw PAP in English 1927 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The main board of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative (RSW) made a decision to organize a news agency, deciding to use material and organizational basis of the National Workers' Agency (KAR) for this purpose.

In connection with these changes, the RSW board appointed Jerzy Urban editor-in-chief and director of the KAR, entrusting him the task of organizing the KAR's new functions. The RSW board expressed thanks to KAR's hitherto editor-in-chief Kazimierz Krolikowski.

Ceausescu RENMIN RIBAO Interview Published

AU2311081189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Nov 89 pp 1, 6

["Interview with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by CPC Central Committee Daily RENMIN RIBAO," in Bucharest on 14 November]

[Text] As announced, on 14 November Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Yan Zheng, special envoy of CPC Central Committee newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Comrade President, now, on the eve of the 14th RCP Congress, would you be so kind as to tell us about the great achievements obtained by the Romanian people in recent years under the leadership of the party?

Answer: The 14th RCP Congress, scheduled to begin on 20 November, will draw a balance-sheet of Romania's socioeconomic development and socialist construction and will decide on the long-term program for the country's development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the years 2010.

This year we marked the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. In the 45 years since then, Romania has turned from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry, organized on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, and a flourishing socialist agriculture. In a short historical period, we covered several development stages, from the bourgeois-landlord system, with strong feudal remnants, to the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

At the end of the current 5-year plan, the Romanian industry produces 145 times more than 45 years ago, of which a 128-fold increase was registered after the Ninth RCP Congress. Likewise, the agricultural production has increased by more than 10 times, more than 6-fold after 1965; and this year we obtained the largest agricultural production ever, more than 60 million tonnes of grain. On this basis, we greatly increased the national income, which will be 40 times higher this year than in 1945; a 33-fold increase was registered after the Ninth Party Congress.

I am talking about the Ninth RCP Congress because it marked a particular point in the party's activity and Romania's socialist construction; that congress put an end to certain negative states of affairs; gave up the thesis of the "single model"; renounced the copying of the experience and practice of others and kowtowing to everything foreign; and restored to the party and people their dignity and trust in their own forces, using as a premise the need to base socialist construction on the principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism, as applied to Romania's realities.

Therefore, one can say that thanks to the decisions taken at that congress, we were able to achieve our country's great revolutionary changes along the road of socialism.

We strongly developed socialist ownership—the whole people's property and the cooperative property—which is the decisive element of all achievements. Concurrently with the development of the forces of production, industry, and agriculture, we paid particular attention to science, education, and instruction, as decisive elements of our entire socioeconomic activity.

At the same time, we used as a premise the fact that socialism should achieve the highest possible democracy and create the best possible conditions for the participation of the broad masses and all the people in adopting decisions on our domestic and foreign policy and the entire socialist construction.

Taking as a premise the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, we improved the activity of the state, the Grand National Assembly, and the people's councils and also developed new democratic forms of management, such as the working people's councils, in all spheres of activity. We institutionalized the general meetings of working people—in their capacity as owners, consumers, and producers—as management bodies of the entire activity in all units. We also set up a number of nationwide organizations—the congresses of the working people in industry and agriculture, the congresses of science, education, and culture, and the national councils which run activities in between congresses—thus ensuring a broad and organized participation of all social categories and the whole nation in running the entire activity of socialist construction and development in Romania.

In the spirit of the revolutionary concept about further improving the organization and management of the entire activity, we introduced the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing in all spheres of activity. While ensuring the expansion of all sectors of activity, we also paid particular attention to raising the material and intellectual living standard of the whole nation. In the 1950-89 period, the remuneration fund increased by more than 33 times and the average net pay of the working personnel by approximately 10 times.

We deployed industry throughout the country's territory and strongly developed hundreds of new industrial complexes, which contributed to raising our overall level of civilization and created conditions for true equality of rights among all the country's citizens.

At the same time, we paid greater attention to housing construction, in order to ensure the best housing and living conditions for the working people from this viewpoint as well. Everybody can see today the great number of our new housing units and social, health, education,

and cultural facilities! This has ensured that some 82 percent of the country's urban population live today in new dwellings. In Bucharest, this figure is around 90 percent.

That is why we believe—and the 14th RCP Congress will strongly emphasize this point—that Romania has reached a new stage of socioeconomic development and has achieved the strategic target of transition to the stage of medium developed socialist country.

The 14th Congress documents, which were broadly discussed with the whole party and nation, point out that all these successes were made possible by the fact that, after the Ninth RCP Congress, we allocated some 30-33 percent of the national income for development. This allowed us to ensure the necessary means for the country's overall development and to also raise the people's material and intellectual living standard, which is the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania.

At the same time, these documents show, and we will strongly emphasize this point at the congress, that all these achievements were made possible by the fact that we thoroughly eliminated man's exploitation by man and firmly proceeded to implementing the socialist principles. We owe all this to socialism! Only under the conditions of socialism were we able to eliminate the inherited backwardness and to obtain, in a very short period of time, the great achievements which have radically changed our people's development and living standards!

Question: Please tell us something about the targets of your next 5-year plan and other future goals.

Answer: On the basis of achievements to date, the 1991-95 Ninth 5-Year Plan stipulates that we pay particular attention to the scientific modernization and organization of all industrial, agricultural, and other activities, by giving priority to their intensive development.

Industrial production will increase in the next 5-year plan period by some 35 percent. However, our main goal in the coming period is to achieve products of a high qualitative and technical level, which can compete with similar products in the world. We intend to occupy an ever better place in several fields, and if possible—and I believe it is possible! —to produce items that are the best in the world.

In the 1991-95 5-Year Plan we will continue to deploy the force of production throughout the country's territory and raise the socioeconomic level of all counties and localities. We will give priority to developing science and increasing the overall level of knowledge of all working people and the whole nation. As a matter of fact, as of this year we proceeded to the general introduction of the 12-year school system for all our young generation. Therefore, in the coming 5-year plan period, we will practically ensure that the entire young generation, hence all the working people, acquire a high level of knowledge in all spheres. As stipulated in the program-directive for our future development, we will create a workers class and peasantry of a high intellectual level and a people armed with some of the best and most advanced scientific-technological, cultural, and general knowledge, who can understand the laws governing the development of human society.

By 1995 we also plan to resolve the housing problem in towns, thus ensuring dwelling space of at least 12 square meters for each citizen, plus the necessary facilities.

At the same time, we will raise the level of communes and villages. We will build, with state assistance, new dwellings for workers and specialists in communes, and we will help the village inhabitants to build better dwellings for themselves, within the framework of a better organization and systematization of all localities. Thanks to these measures, which lay great emphasis on the socioeconomic development of each locality, we will guarantee ever better working, income, education, health, and cultural conditions for inhabitants in communes. As you can see, we want to create ever better overall conditions, so as to draw nearer the living standards of working people in villages and towns, in the belief that this is a law-governed requirement for building the socialist society in Romania.

Everything we achieve in our country will ensure the strong development of the forces of production and all sectors of activity, and, on this basis, the further growth of the people's material and intellectual living standard.

As you know, this year we completely eliminated Romania's foreign debt. We no longer pay any kind of tribute or interest and no longer allow part of our national income to fall into the hands of international monopolies and financial capital. Everything we have achieved is serving and will serve only our people and the well-being and happiness of all citizens.

I would like to stress that we will obviously continue to pay appropriate attention to strengthening the whole nation's property and the cooperative property—socialist ownership—as the foundation of our entire socioeconomic development. We will firmly apply the socialist principles of social justice and equity, with the conviction that the socialist society must do everything possible to eliminate the division of people into too rich and too poor. We will ensure that the means available to our society at a given time should be equitably distributed, in the spirit of socialist principles and in accordance with the country's development level.

As a matter of fact, I would like to say that, for more than 20 years, we have radically cut down the ratio between large and small incomes by increasing the smaller ones. Even in recent years, we raised the small incomes by more than 30 percent, thus ensuring a current ratio of 1 to 4.7, which in the coming period will go down to 1 to 4.5, compared with the 1 to 23 of 1950. I do not wish to

talk here about the bourgeois-landlord past, a time when the exploiting classes had unlimited incomes.

I emphasize all this because I believe that some of the basic issues of socialist development are: the whole nation's and the cooperative ownership of the means of production and the balanced distribution of the national product, on the basis of socialist principles. Only thus will we ensure a better and equitable ratio between incomes and create ever better working and living conditions for all the fatherland's citizens! There is no way in which we can permit, and we will not permit it, that people obtain incomes without work or from the work of others. We want all Romania's citizens to derive their incomes from their work and activity in various spheres.

Along these lines, we want to develop the forces of production and raise the general living standard of our people so that, with the passage to the new millennium, Romania will implement the party program for the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and conditions will be created for a gradual transition to the implementation of the communist principles of work and life.

Question: Esteemed Comrade President, would you be so kind as to make an assessment of the development prospects of the friendly relations between the parties and peoples of China and Romania.

Answer: First of all, I would like to emphasize with great satisfaction that the relations between the RCP and CPC and between Romania and China are very good. These ties have registered a strong development and have overcome many difficult moments—a conclusion we have jointly reached with the comrades of the Chinese party-state leadership—thus proving their durability and capacity for further development. This is due to the fact that our parties and peoples and our party-state leaderships used as the premise the socialist principles governing our relations of full equality and cooperation, in order to promote the socialist development of our two countries.

In this respect one can say that there are wonderful prospects for the further development of cooperation and solidarity among the parties and peoples of our countries!

Indeed, there are many problems in the world. The international situation is complicated enough. Now, more than ever before, it is necessary to strengthen cooperation among communist parties and socialist countries. In this respect, I would like to emphasize that we attach great importance to cooperation with the CPC and the PRC. There are great prospects for developing our economic and scientific-technical cooperation, in view of Romania's and China's development programs and socialist construction, in accordance with realities prevailing in each country.

At the same time, in view of the serious international situation, it is necessary—and we believe that our parties and countries will do all they can in this respect—to take steps to solve the complex problems of the contemporary world, to the benefit of socialist development in our countries and other states, and in the general interest of socioeconomic progress for all nations; of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament; of eliminating underdevelopment; and of building a new international economic order based on a new kind of relations among states, namely relations of true equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Therefore, we consider the prospects of Romanian-Chinese cooperation to be very important and believe that all prerequisites exist for good bilateral cooperation, in view of the positions adopted by our parties and countries, including those on international events. As far as we are concerned, Romania will continue to make resolute efforts along these lines!

In conclusion, I would like to extend to the Chinese Communists and people best wishes for success in the fulfillment of their development programs and in socialist construction, and I hope for good cooperation between our parties and peoples!

DPRK Daily Interviews Ceausescu on Policies

AU2311083989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Nov 89 pp 1, 4

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview" with DPRK daily NODONG SINMUN in Bucharest on 15 November]

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 15 November 1989 received So Tong-pom, chief editor of daily NODONG SINMUN, press organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Comrade Secretary General, the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] will be held in your country before long, which marks an important event in the life of the Romanian people. Would you please talk about the important successes achieved by the Romanian people in your country's socialist construction under the energetic leadership of the RCP and yourself personally?

Answer: The proceedings of the 14th RCP Congress, which are to begin on 20 November, will take stock of the achievements attained by the Romanian people in the 45 years that have elapsed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, that paved the way for genuine independence and for embarking on the road of socialist development in our homeland.

In this short historic period of time, the Romanian people covered several historic stages—from the bourgeois-landlord system, in which feudal social, economic, and political forms were still clearly obvious, to the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. From a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country, Romania has turned into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern industry, organized on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology, and with a prospering socialist agriculture. In this period, Romanian industry increased 145-fold, 128-fold in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress of 1965. Agricultural yields increased more than 10-fold, 6-fold after the Ninth RCP Congress; while the national revenue increased 40-fold, 33-fold after 1965.

I am emphasizing the importance of the Ninth Party Congress because it put a halt to numerous negative things—including the concept of a "unique model," of automatically copying others without criticism—and it put a halt to attitudes of kowtowing to everything foreign, and restored our party's and people's trust in their capability, their dignity, and ensured Romania's development on the road of socialism in accordance with the specific conditions in our homeland.

We have proceeded on the basis that socialism has to be built with the people and for the people; that it is being built on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of the revolutionary, dialectical-materialist, and historic concept, and in a different way from country to country and from epoch to epoch, and that it can be built only in complete accordance with the specific conditions in each country.

We have paid great attention to perfecting the management, planning, and organization of all socioeconomic activities. We have firmly moved to organizing all activities on the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing.

At the same time, we have perfected the forms of democratic activity within the party, the state bodies, including the Grand National Assembly, and the people's councils. However, we have also worked out new democratic forms for the management of all sectors of activity. We have proceeded on the basis that the general meetings of the working people, as owners, producers, and consumers, have to decide on all activities in each unit. As a matter of fact, we have entrusted each working people's collective with the administration of the fixed assets—that is, part of the wealth of the whole people—in the belief that each working people's collective has to be directly responsible and aware of its responsibility for the proper administration and development of the part of the national wealth entrusted to it as part and parcel of the wealth of the whole nation.

We have set up managerial working people's councils in all socioeconomic units. In industrial enterprises, the workers make up at least 30 percent of the personnel.

We have created local and national bodies of workers revolutionary democracy—national councils—and every 5 years congresses are held according to branches of activity, such as the congress of the working people in industry, the congress of agriculture, and congress of science and instruction, and the congress of education and culture, which are attended by the working people's representatives from all units of a given sector. The congress of the working people in industry and the congress of agriculture, for instance, are each attended by 11,000 working people.

We have achieved a new, democratic form for the people's direct management of all aspects of socialist construction and of the overall domestic and foreign policy.

We have constantly ensured that the public ownership of the whole people and cooperative ownership is strengthened as a basis of successfully building the socialist society.

At the same time, we have paid particular attention to developing science, instruction, and education, and to raising revolutionary awareness based on the fact that socialism cannot be built except by applying the most modern achievements of science and technology and with working people characterized by a high level of professional, technical, cultural, and political knowledge.

Concerning ourselves with the vigorous development of the forces of production, industry, agriculture, and the other areas, we have paid great attention to distributing industry and the other socioeconomic activities throughout our country for the purpose of raising the general level of development of all counties and areas in our country and of achieving genuine equality of rights for all citizens of Romania. At the same time, we have ensured a constant improvement in the material and cultural standard of living of our people. The remuneration fund has increased more than 33-fold in this period and the average net pay approximately 10-fold. We have implemented a comprehensive construction program for housing and other sociocultural, educational, health, and cultural establishments. We have created conditions to enable us to ensure the best possible housing for the working people. Actually, by the end of the current 5-year plan, that is in 1990, some 82 percent of the population in cities and approximately 90 percent in Bucharest will have new housing. At the same time, we have concerned ourselves with developing and improving housing conditions and other social requirements in villages and communes throughout the country.

This is why we can say that socialism has indeed ensured a general improvement in the level of socioeconomic development and in the people's material and cultural standard of living—the supreme goal of our party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society, which we are building in Romania.

The documents for the 14th RCP Congress have been discussed at length within the party and with all our people and we can say that the entire party and people have adopted these documents unanimously—both regarding the definition of the current development stage of the Romanian society, of the victory of socialism in Romania, and regarding the goals for our future development during the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2010.

What we have in mind is to firmly continue the implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of creating the necessary conditions, so that by the year 2000—the beginning of the third millennium—we will be able to move toward applying the communist principles of life and work.

In the next 5-year plan, industrial output is to increase some 35-fold and to virtually double at the beginning of the third millennium compared with 1990. However, we will pay particular attention to the intensive development of industry and to modernizing and organizing all activities on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. Our aim is to improve the qualitative and technical standard, so that Romanian products are comparable and can compete with the best such product at the world level, and that in some areas they rank among the best.

We will continue to pay particular attention to agriculture. We proceed on the basis that agriculture is a basic branch of the Romanian economy and that its development is decisive for successfully building socialism and the communist society. This year we have achieved the largest yields—more than 60 million tonnes of grains—thus actually exceeding the provisions of program-directive for the year 2000. Therefore, we propose to continue to develop all agricultural areas and to achieve a modern agriculture characterized by high profitability that will guarantee all our people the best of supplies and that will meet other requirements of the national economy.

Accordingly, we propose to develop transportation and all the other sectors of activity in order to ensure our country's balanced and harmonious development.

I want to repeat, in the coming period we will continue to place particular stress on developing science and education, and on improving our people's general level of knowledge, in the belief that this is an objective requirement for successfully building socialism; we will continue to work so that everything we achieve will ensure our country's development in general and a constant improvement in our people's standard of living.

So far—since the Ninth RCP Congress—we have annually allocated 30-33 percent of the national revenue for the development and accumulation fund. In the coming period, beginning with the Ninth 5-Year Plan, we propose to allocate 28-30 percent for development purposes, in the belief that this will ensure the necessary means to continue our country's general development process, namely the process of successfully building socialism. At the same time, we will allocate 70-72 percent for the consumption fund, thus ensuring a general improvement in the material and cultural standard of living. Such improvements will permit us to solve the housing problem in cities by 1995, and allow us to pay even greater attention to communes, bringing the living standard of villages and cities closer—one of the lawful conditions of building the socialist and communist society.

Giving priority to our people's efforts in socialist construction, we will extensively develop economic and scientific-technical relations of cooperation with other states—virtually with all states in the world, irrespective of social system. We will develop cooperation with the socialist countries to a greater extent, in the belief that this is in the interest of each socialist country and of socialism in general.

Question: Comrade Secretary General, today, more than ever before, the imperialists and their satellite reactionary forces—by fiercely resorting to anticommunist and antisocialist maneuvers—make use of all possible means and methods to destabilize the socialist countries from a political-economic and ideological-cultural viewpoint. What is your opinion about defending socialism and consolidating its superiority and vitality in the current stage?

Answer: The RCP and Socialist Romania believe that the international situation continues to be serious and complicated. True, certain steps have been made by means of negotiations toward solving certain problems, including steps toward a policy of disarmament. In actual fact, however, they have not fundamentally changed the international situation. In fact, the arms race continues, as do nuclear tests and the production of new nuclear weapons. The NATO countries have decided to modernize a number of nuclear weapons and have vigorously reaffirmed the so-called "nuclear deterrence" doctrine, which, in fact, is an aggressive doctrine of force and dictate.

Under these circumstances, we believe that it is necessary for us to do all we can to halt the arms race and take steps to eliminate nuclear weapons. For this purpose, nuclear testing must be halted immediately, and the production and modernization of nuclear weapons must be stopped. We advocate a radical reduction of conventional weapons and, in fact, Romania is participating in the negotiations that are being held in Vienna between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

In our view, all peoples are directly interested in this and have to work with greater determination to impose disarmament and to ensure peace throughout the world.

At the same time, we advocate a solution to all disputes through negotiations, the cessation of any kind of interference on the part of imperialist states or any state into

the domestic affairs of various countries. We also support strict observance of each people's right to chose its development road as it desires and without any outside interference.

We also pay great attention to the problems of underdevelopment, to the new international economic order, and to eliminating the gap between rich and poor which has continued to grow in this 10-year period. According to statistics of international economic bodies, the poor countries are annually subsidizing the developed countries with scores of billions of dollars. We believe that the time has come to put a halt to this situation and to ensure opportunities for a more vigorous development of the developing countries and for the development of the whole world economy in general.

It is in the context of this complex and serious international situation that we have to view the intensification of antisocialist and anticommunist activities of the imperialist reactionary forces; of brutal interference in the affairs of other countries, including the actions to destabilize the socialist countries economically and politically-ideologically. It is in this light that we have to view the support—in various forms and by all sorts of means, including through espionage and subversion agencies—for destabilizing the socialist countries with the aim of making their return, if possible, to capitalism. It is obvious that these circles are using certain difficulties that have emerged in the socialist countries to intensify this activity in an attempt to give credence to the idea that socialism has proved that it is unable to solve problems and that, in fact, as some of these circles state, it should be replaced by capitalism.

Our party and Socialist Romania believe that the socialist countries have achieved important results, that socialism has proved its potential and capability to organize the society's entire development on new bases. We believe that it is necessary for us to place particular stress on this fact and to reject with the greatest of determination any attempts by imperialist circles and reactionary forces, no matter what form they take.

We believe that defending socialism is one of the obligations of each party, each people, and of socialism in general. It is undoubtedly necessary to perfect and improve the work of socialist construction and to act toward eliminating negative things and mistakes—wherever they occurred. However, this should not be done by moving toward capitalist forms, but on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and on the basis of the need to perfect and develop the socialist society.

It goes without saying that this requires us to perfect the forms of organization and management of the socialist economy and of the other sectors on a democratic basis, in order to apply the principles of self-management, self-administration, and to increase economic profitability and efficiency. We should bear in mind, however, that by no means should one open the road for capitalist ownership, because it would only weaken the position of socialism and cause great harm to the given countries and peoples, and to socialism in general.

Undoubtedly, we have to perfect social forms, ensure ever better and similar living conditions for all our homeland's citizens, and by no means permit exploitation and oppression. We cannot tolerate a situation in which some people in our socialist society might achieve incomes not by working but by exploiting the work of other people.

As far as we are concerned, the RCP—after the Ninth RCP Congress, as I have said—has taken steps to perfect all management activities and to ensure an intensive development of socialist ownership. We propose to continue to proceed firmly—as in fact the documents for the 14th RCP Congress emphasize—along the road of strengthening and developing the ownership of all people, cooperative ownership, and the democratic framework for the management of society on the basis of the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people. Let us work so that socialism will continue to demonstrate that there is no way to guarantee the people's freedom and well-being other than socialism and that, sooner or later, socialism will be the only alternative left for a better and more just world!

Question: Esteemed Comrade Secretary General, the Romanian party and government, and you personally have expressed active support for and solidarity with the cause of the Korean people aimed at the fatherland's reunification. Our people are strongly encouraged by and satisfied with this. At this point, through foreign instigation, the South Korean authorities are trying all sorts of maneuvers to create an international atmosphere of promoting the doctrine on a "separate adherence to the United Nations." What is your opinion about the role Romania may play in thwarting and annihilating the plots concocted by the domestic and foreign advocates of Korean division in order to create "two Koreas," and about its role in creating international conditions favoring Korea's reunification?

Answer: The RCP and Socialist Romania greatly appreciate the policy promoted by the WPK and the DPRK with a view to achieving a peaceful reunification of the Korean people. We believe that the repeated initiatives of the DPRK and of Comrade Kim Il-song have been and continue to be of great importance for achieving this vital goal of the Korean people, but also of great international significance, because this reflects the consistent position of the Korean communists in defending the whole nation's interests in reunification, even while preserving different social systems.

Therefore, we have supported and will continue to support, with all our might, this policy of the WPK and DPRK, in the belief that this will properly meet the Korean people's interests and, sooner or later, will lead to the achievement of unity.

In this spirit, Romania will continue to support, under any circumstances, the DPRK's firm position on the

reunification, including the presentation of this problem at the United Nations. We view our understanding and action in the spirit of the Korean people's interests as an obligation of our solidarity with them. We believe that you understand these problems the best and we will support the actions of the DPRK people. It is undoubtedly necessary—and as far as we are concerned, we will do all we can for this purpose—not to undertake anything at variance with the general policy promoted by the party and friendly people of the DPRK. We will support all actions by your party and people, being firmly convinced that this is in accordance with the interests of the Korean people and of peace in the Pacific area, but also throughout the world.

Question: Comrade Secretary General, today the relations of friendship and cooperation established between our parties and peoples and between Korea and Romania are developing positively on the basis of the socialist principles. What are the prospects in this area?

Answer: I would like to mention with great satisfaction that relations between our parties and peoples are good—I could say very good. An important role in this respect was played by the fact that our parties have held and continue to hold identical or very close positions on the basic problems of socialist construction and on the various complex international issues. Within this framework, I would like to emphasize the importance of meetings and talks between the general secretaries of our parties, between our party's leaderships, and the importance of the visits and meetings at various levels designed to develop and intensify our friendship and cooperation.

On the basis of the current level of cooperation in all areas, our party and Socialist Romania believe that there are excellent prospects for expanding economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation and for intensifying cooperation between our parties and countries in the complex issues of the international situation!

We must always see to it that our relations of cooperation in all areas serve the vigorous development of our countries on socialist bases; for this is in accordance not only with the interests of our countries, but also with those of the general cause of socialism. We believe that under the current circumstances we must develop the exchange of experience and of views on the problems of socialist construction in accordance with the specific conditions in each country. We must intensify cooperation in connection with international issues by bearing in mind the need to strengthen solidarity among the socialist countries, between the communist and workers parties, and anti-imperialist forces in order to make a more active contribution to solving the complex and very serious problems in the international arena. It goes without saying that we will have to participate more actively in solving international problems, including the struggle for disarmament and for a lasting peace in the world.

I would like to express the conviction that our parties and peoples will expand this cooperation even more in the interest of socialism in our countries and socialism and peace in general!

With this said, I want to convey to the friendly DPRK people warmest wishes for progress, well-being, and success in their activity of building socialism, peaceful reunification, and I wish for positive cooperation between our parties and peoples!

RCP Message to UK Communist Party Congress

AU2511212889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1811 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/11/1989—A message of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] to the 41st Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain conveys, on behalf of the RCP, of its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm comradely salute of friendship and solidarity.

The Romanian Communists follow with keen interest the activity of the Communist Party of Great Britain for the promotion and safeguarding of the fundamental interests of the working class, of all working people, for the strengthening of the unity of action and the enhancement of the contribution of the national revolutionary, left and democratic forces to the settlement of the country's social and political problems in keeping with the aspirations after democracy, prosperity and progress of the masses of people.

We think that under the current particularly complex international circumstances, of special importance is the intensification of the fight of the Communist and Worker Parties, of all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the world to assert a new-type, democratic policy of full equality in interstate relations, of respect for peoples' independence and sovereignty, of noninterference in internal affairs. Life, international developments require that everything possible be done so that through the joint fight of the peoples, of the democratic and progressive forces everywhere real progress be made on the path of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, interstate litigious issues be settled by political means, through negotiations, underdevelopment be liquidated and a new world economic order established.

We take this opportunity, the message reads, to highlight the productive cooperation between the RCP and the Communist Party of Great Britain and express the wish that bilateral relations develop even more, on the lasting base of mutual esteem and respect, of every party's equality and autonomy, of its right to independently work out its political life in harmony with the conditions in which it carries on its activity.

In conclusion the message conveys wishes of full success to the congress and in the translation into fact of the

decisions it will adopt for renewing transformations in the British society, in the interest of progress and socialism.

Foreign Minister Thanks Cambodian Counterpart

BK2411012089 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Message of thanks from Foreign Minister Ion Stoian to Khieu Samphan, vice president in charge of foreign affairs of Democratic Kampuchea; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs:

I would like to express my wholehearted thanks to Your Excellency for the congratulations and greetings that you have conveyed to me on my appointment as foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I do believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will further flourish in the interest of our two peoples and for the cause of peace and progress of the whole world.

[Signed] Ion Stoian, foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Slovene Trade Unions Announce Autonomy

LD2411133689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—The trade unions of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia will in future be a "politically autonomous and independent organization, whose principal task will remain the social security of workers and the protection of their rights," the leadership of the Slovenian trade unions said in a conversation with journalists today.

The trade unions of Slovenia, which is Yugoslavia's most developed republic, will endeavour to become a "serious and equal collocutor in the resolving of the problems of its membership," it was pointed out.

The leadership said that one of the main reasons for the profound change in the trade unions was the serious situation faced by workers on account of the dimensions of the socio-economic and political crises in the country.

Slovenia has experienced over 200 strikes so far this year, and the number of unemployed persons in the republic, which has a population of about two million, now stands at 29,000, double the figure recorded a few years ago.

Slovene Groups, Official Political Groups Meet

AU2711214389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 89 p 14

[D. Draskovic report: "How Many People Make Up a Party?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Nov—There is no more roundtable, yet alternative and official political groups in Slovenia found themselves at the same table, forced there by common business in finalizing both an electoral law and a law governing political association. Yesterday evening's meeting produced the first joint stand, that these laws must be given priority in the Assembly because of the impending elections.

There was extensive discussion on the topic of how many members a party needs in order to be considered a party. Leo Seserko, representative of the Greens, warned that ecological organizations are springing up in Slovenia like mushrooms after rain, and that they all wish to be represented as independent parties. Peter Bekes, from the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee, warned that nobody has the right to restrict the constitutional right to association in any way.

There were extensive discussions when the question of material support arose, but financing was only discussed in principle. Much criticism was directed against the present financing of the League of Communists [LC] and the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP]. The Youth Federation representative asserted that the LC is not financed solely by its members.

The common view on this matter was that the membership should be the basic source for parties' finance, but that the SAWP should give up a part of its republican funding to the new alliances. Members of the Slovene Democratic Alliance and the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia did not attend the meeting. Since they are the most influential representatives of the alternative movement, this gave rise to the question of whether the "Pozarnikites" and the "Tomsicites," in their usual fine style, want to work out the bill without the innkeeper.

1 Dec Ljubljana 'Rally of Truth' Announced

LD2711114589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—The "rally of truth and solidarity in Ljubljana" will take place on 1 December beginning at 1200 at the main square. This stand from its presidium was greeted with chanting at today's meeting in Kosovo Polje of the members of the committee of the association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo and Metohija. The meeting is being attended by more than 300 representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin nations from some 50 locations in Kosovo.

The stand of the presidium, which was read out, stresses at the beginning of the agreement that the statements and assessments in connection with the rally in Ljubljana only confirm the anti-Yugoslav orientation of the Slovene leadership and that their actions concerning the rally of truth "have revealed the tragic truth about the state of democracy in that republic."

The committee rejects any talks with the police regime and leadership, who are afraid of Yugoslav citizens, the agreement states. The participants in the meeting began by observing a minute's silence for the miners who perished in Aleksinac.

Slovene Meetings Banned; Militia 'Activated'

AU2811161689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Slovene Executive Council, and his associates met the presidents of the executive councils of the communal assemblies a few hours ago. The subject of the talks was the announced and banned meeting in Ljubljana.

President Sinigoj stressed that at its session yesterday, the Slovene Assembly took a clear stand on the activities connected with the further preparations for the meeting in Ljubljana. These preparations continue even though the meeting has been banned by respective organs. At the proposal of the Presidency of Slovenia, the Assembly authorized the Executive Council and the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs to adopt all the necessary measures to prevent the banned meeting and to ensure safety, these measures including restrictions on the movements and gatherings of people.

Sinigoj said that Tomaz Ertl, republican secretary for internal affairs, who is attending a meeting in Zagreb today of all the republican secretaries and the federal secretary for internal affairs, Petar Gracanin, has been requested to state resolutely that in case those fomenting the meeting try to come despite the ban, Slovenia will resolutely take all the steps to protect public peace and order and property.

The republic will do its best to prevent a meeting. We will take steps against everybody who violates this ban, it was said at the talks between the presidents of the communal executive councils. Branko Bracko, deputy republican secretary for internal affairs, said that internal affairs organs were prepared to prevent a meeting. They have an exact plan of the executive tasks and steps. Reserve militia units were also activated.

We will use all means to prevent the meeting, including authorized means of coercion, Bracko said.

It should also be said that all meetings and gatherings of citizens of more than 10 persons have been banned, with the exception of the events that have been announced earlier and of cultural and sports events.

Milan Jelenc, (?secretary) for transportation and communications, said again that six requests have been received for special trains. Such trains must not start from their stations of origin without consent. The Ljubljana Railroad Management adopted the decision today that it will not allow regular trains to be supplemented. Bus transport organizations were also advised to reject special trips. The Brnik Airport will refuse to accept special flights.

The representative of the Ljubljana City Executive Committee said in the discussion that catering premises except hotels, and pharmacies except the duty ones, will be closed in Ljubljana on 1 December. The city also received 40 applications for the closure of other premises.

President Sinigoj said in this connection that we must have as normal a life as possible on 1 December. The Executive Council therefore believes that the proposed general strike would contribute to a destabilization rather than the opposite. Considering that the basic intention of the meeting organizers is precisely to destabilize Slovenia, it makes no sense to do anything to help it.

Ljubljana Rally 'Must Be Prevented'

AU2811202889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The meeting of truth, which Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins intend to hold in Ljubljana on 1 December, continues to disturb the political public in Slovenia and outside it. During the ceremony marking the promotion of a small locality, Lenart, which is near Maribor, into a township, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, said this afternoon that what is behind the meeting of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, which is supposed to take place in Ljubljana on 1 December, is not truth but an intention to break Slovenia in order to rule Yugoslavia. Relja Atanasijevic has a report:

Repeating in Lenart the view the Slovene Assembly adopted yesterday, according to which the arrival of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and the holding of a meeting in Republic Square must be prevented, Miran Potrc said that as a sovereign state Slovenia could not have acted in any other way. It could not allow peace, people's lives, and social and private property to be endangered. He also said the purpose of the people planning to take part in the meeting is not to present the truth about Kosovo, but the Kosovization of Slovenia, the subjugation of the Slovenes, and the restoration of undemocratic relations that are also not free.

Therefore, he said, the purpose of the meeting is to break Slovenia in order to rule Yugoslavia. Miran Potrc wondered how the Slovenes were going to be reproached for this stand, and said: We will be reproached for favoring democracy only in words, for not recognizing the equality of all citizens of Yugoslavia who live in Slovenia and, as elected Slovene representatives, for fearing for our position when the people of this republic learn about the untruths that the Slovene leadership has been spreading.

Potrc ended his speech in Lenart by saying: We are not separatists and do not support any kind of counterrevolution in Kosovo. We do not hate any people in Yugoslavia, but cannot allow others to rule in our home. For these reasons at the least, we will not allow this undesirable meeting.

Therefore, the door to Slovenia is closed for the uninvited guests. In any case, as announced, in addition to active militiamen, reserve militiamen have also been drafted.

The Ljubljana Railroad Organization does not intend to let through any trains with passengers heading for Ljubljana from Dobova on the Slovene-Croatian border. It has not been ruled out that on the crossings from Croatia the traffic police may carry out technical checks on busses and trucks with passengers, and that police will remove all defective vehicles from circulation.

Public Meetings Banned

AU2911114289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] From 30 November, and until further notice, the travel and gathering of citizens in public places will be banned in Slovenia. To be more precise, all public meetings and gathering of citizens in public places are banned throughout the territory of Slovenia.

All public performances are also banned except for those that were given permits by Slovene internal affairs organs. From 30 November, and until the ban is lifted,

all gatherings of citizens into groups larger than 30 people are banned. Travel is banned for those people heading for banned public meetings and performances. Travel is also banned for those motor vehicles transporting people who are going to banned public meetings and performances.

No Trains to Ljubljana Rally

LD2811111189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—The Belgrade rail transport organization this morning received an official reply from the Lubljana railway authorities rejecting the introduction of special trains for passengers wanting to take part in the protest meeting of truth in Ljubljana on 1 December. The reply from the Ljubljana railways says that the protest meeting has been banned by the official organs of Slovenia, which means that special trains are not being allowed. The same explanation was given to the rail transport organization of Pristina, Novi Sad, and Titograd.

Passengers wanting to go to Ljubljana can use only the scheduled trains from these cities.

Asked to comment on this decision by Ljubljana, Petar Andjelovic, director general of the Belgrade rail transport organization, called the move by the Ljubljana railways "incomprehensible." "This is the first time such a thing has happened in the history of the Yugoslav railways, as far as I know," Andjelovic said. "We are an economic and commercial, not a political organization. For us only one principle is relevant—if a passenger has a valid ticket, then he can travel wherever he wants. The fact that the official organs of Slovenia have banned the protest meeting is their problem, and the railways really have nothing to do with this."

So the way to Ljubljana is open only for regular and not special trains.

Further on Train Ban

AU2811152089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Yugoslav Association of Railroad Organizations informed railroad organizations that the conditions for introducing special trains for Ljubljana on 30 November and 1 December have not been created. On 27 November, Ljubljana railroad workers informed the association and railroad organizations that they cannot handle special trains because the official organs have banned the meeting. Petar Andjelkovic, general director of Belgrade Railroad Organization, stated that the refusal to introduce special trains is unprecedented in the history of Yugoslavia's railroad transportation.

Vojvodina Citizens To Attend Rally

AU2811160889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] All peoples and nationalities living in Vojvodina regard attendance at the Ljubljana rally as their duty to truth, and the threat to stop the trains and buses as the final attempt of the Slovene leadership to prevent the Slovene people from learning this truth. Here is a report from Novi Sad by Nikola Bulatovic:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] It is quite certain that on 30 November, several thousands of Vojvodina citizens will leave for Ljubljana. Together with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as other participants in the meeting, they will do everything possible to inform the Slovene public about truth in Kosovo. The peoples and nationalities of Vojvodina, all those who wish Yugoslavia well, want to use the rally to tell their fraternal Slovene people that interethnic relations in this province are good and stable and that telling the truth about Kosovo should contribute toward such relations prevailing in Kosovo and Metohija.

Yesterday's session of the Vojvodina Presidency, at which it was stated that the meeting in Ljubljana should show the true attitude of the Slovene leadership toward Kosovo problems is an additional reason for the continuously growing interest in going to Ljubljana.

As announced, one special train and about 100 buses, which is to say more than 5,000 people, will leave from Novi Sad for Ljubljana. Departure for Ljubljana from Subotica, Sombor, Ruma, Titov Vrbas, Zrenjanin, Kikinda, Pancevo, and other places is being organized by trade union and other organizations. They hold the view that nobody has the right to ban the workers from attending the meeting of truth in the capital city of Slovenia.

Nobody here wants to believe that trains will be prohibited from going to Ljubljana. The fact that the participants in the meeting are being threatened is seen as the unbelievable imposition of some individuals who invented this imposition without considering the views of the Slovene people.

The appeal of the Ljubljana City Socialist Alliance of Working People to the citizens of Ljubljana to boycott the meeting, calling the participants intruders, is seen in the same way. Nobody has the right to say this in the name of the Slovene people, and the meeting should in fact be an opportunity to find out whether the Slovene people think in the same way as their leadership. People here do not believe that this is the case.

The Novi Sad Railroad Organization, which sent a request to Zagreb and Ljubljana railroad organizations on 23 November to ensure uninterrupted rail service, today received a telegram from Ljubljana stating that the Ljubljana Railroad Organization will not accept the trains carrying the participants in the meeting. The expert board of the Novi Sad Railroad Organization

therefore lodged a protest to the Zagreb and Ljubljana Railroad Organizations, the president of Management Board of the Yugoslav Association of Railroad Organizations, Nikola Zurkovic, and the president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, Joze Slokar, as well as a demand that uninterrupted rail traffic to Ljubljana be ensured. There has not yet been any reply from Zagreb.

Milivoje Radenkovic, vice president of the Novi Sad Association for Aid to Kosovo, Solidarity, has just informed us that the participants in the rally from Vojvodina are ready to march some 100 km between Zagreb and Ljubljana if the trains are not allowed to go through. This will be the best proof to the Slovene and wider public what kind of democracy exists in this republic.

Slovene LC Statement on Ljubljana 1 Dec Rally

LD2811120789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2211 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee issued the following statement in connection with a meeting scheduled to take place in Ljubljana on 1 December:

"We have already warned of the tragic consequences which the enforced meeting may have for the further development of intranational relations and coexistence in Yugoslavia, and of the enormous damage it will cause to the Slovene, Serbian, and all other nations in Yugoslavia. The crusade on Ljubljana is an attack on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]-based Yugoslavia. The crusaders are acting on behalf of the policy, which has the destruction of Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities as its aim," the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium says in its statement.

"It is no coincidence that the crusaders have chosen 1 December, the anniversary day of the creation of the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which eventually became a centralist-unitarist creation dominated by Serbian bourgeoise. This meeting is an attempt to take advantage of the genuine suffering of all the people living in Kosovo. Its real aim is to politically destabilize both Yugoslavia and Slovenia, to deny Slovenia's sovereignty and to destroy its state institutions by force and also to hamper efforts to achieve unanimity over democratic reforms in Yugoslavia.

Responsibility lies with all those who insist on holding the banned meeting and those who, desspite the Slovene people and leadership, overtly or tacitly support the meeting and who, because of opportunism, have kept silent about it in the belief that the meeting in Ljubljana will divert attention from the unsettled situation in their part of the world," the statement says.

"In accordance with conclusions reached at the last session of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee, we approve of the decisions made by the state organs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and are calling on all Slovene people to show support for and confidence in these organs by their conduct. Citizens of Slovenia must respond to the uncalled-for visit with dignity and self-confidence, just as they have always done in similar situations in their history and as advised by the Ljubljana Socialist Alliance of Working People City Conference.

"We shall not discuss the meeting with anyone nor shall we hold ourselves responsible for whatever may happen at the meeting in Ljubljana," the Presidium of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee states in conclusion.

Slovene Radio Comments on Ljubljana Rally

AU2511221489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Nadja Pengov commentary]

[Text] The meeting is to be held, irrevocably. This is the desire of the awakened people of the southeast part of our country, which is our joint state. Obviously this also is the will of the country's political leadership, which has led us all into the present despair and which has made such awakening of the people possible. Pogrom-like meetings may be as alien and as unacceptable to sovereign Slovenia as you like, but the trains will run to Ljubljana, all under the slogan of truth, democracy, and brotherhood.

Now that it seems as if all the appropriate institutions have had their say about the matter and that even the SFRY Presidency with its lukewarm stand—which is to say none—on the meeting has shown its absolute impotence and in fact has given a green light to the meeting—let us remember that the Republic of Serbia has three equal votes in that Presidency in addition to the vote of its brother from Montenegro, which is one half of the votes, whatever you may say; anything that happens on the Friday immediately after 29 November, the greatest holiday of our country, Yugoslavia—what an irony—is merely a matter for the appropriate organs and services.

Because mass demonstrations by Serbs and Montenegrins will be held by force on the soil of Slovenia—their aim supposedly being to expose the truth about Kosovo, although it has been obvious for a long time that the whole matter has no connection with Kosovo any more—any possible disorders and excesses will be prevented by all means at one's disposal, including force.

However, our ideals, particularly those of our generation who grew up in post-war Yugoslavia and who have loved it, all those big words about brotherhood, equality, and democracy, about the legal order and the rule of law, about honesty and human norms, about a social system that will lead to a civilized life, are crumbling to dust one

after another. Kosovo has never been as close to Slovenia as it is now, and Slovenia has never been as far from Europe as it is now.

Leaving aside all the rhetoric about big politics, our republic has been experiencing an emergency situation for several days now. The stress on people has turned many a heart cold and has caused many a fist to be clenched. We Slovenes will, of course, show on Friday in our own way, in a civilized manner and with a boycott, that we do not like uninvited guests and that a pushing crowd is not democracy.

However, what will remain among the people afterward, and what will be left of their love for Yugoslavia—Yugoslavia that is being offered now and that (?tolerates) the march of one people against another, a mass manipulation of the people by Serbian politicians so that they may at any price entrench themselves in power in the name of these people and of a united Yugoslavia and subordinate the disobedient northwest of the country?

FEC Representatives Comment on Ljubljana Rally

AU2711165089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Today's session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly lasted just over 1 hour because the working bodies did not reach an accord on three important laws. The adoption of the Law on Prices, the Law on Foreign Exchange Dealings, and the Law on Taxation was postponed indefinitely. [passage omitted]

At this session, it happened again that a delegate's question drew more attention than the agenda itself.

A delegate from Slovenia, Jernej Jan, ask the Federal Executive Council [FEC] about the measures undertaken by the authoritative federal organs to ensure the implementation of the decision of the relevant organs in Slovenia on preventing the holding of a rally in Ljubljana on 1 December. He also asked whether the reports published in some Belgrade newspapers that special free trains are being organized for the participants in the meeting were true, and if they were true, who was paying for them.

The first part of the question was answered by Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the FEC. First of all, he recalled the FEC's views concerning this issue and stressed that the FEC has obliged the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, together with the republican and provincial secretariats for internal affairs, to undertake everything necessary to preserve public peace and order on the whole of Yugoslavia's territory.

Andrej Grahov, federal secretary for transportation and communications, said that the Yugoslav railroad organization is aware of the request for only one special train for Ljubljana, but that not all railroad organizations whose territory this train is supposed to go through agreed on that.

Acknowledging these replies, delegate Jernej Jan still insisted that by tomorrow the Assembly delegates be informed in writing about the measures undertaken by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Kucan, Ribicic View Ljubljana Meeting

AU2811172489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Meeting Is Not a Condition for Talks"]

[Text] What measures will Slovenia undertake if the announced meeting does take place? This was one of the questions foreign journalists asked Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and Ciril Ribicic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, at a news conference.

Any special measures are out of question, Milan Kucan replied. Responding to, so to speak, cynical demands and due to various circumstances, our executive organ has decided not to allow the meeting to be held, Milan Kucan added.

It is only normal for a law-governed state to protect a decision made by an administrative organ and, according to Article 250 of the SFRY Constitution, a lawful decision made in one republic should be obeyed in the whole of Yugoslavia. The aim of the meeting is said to be to tell the Slovenes the truth about Kosovo, since they allegedly do not know it. However, nobody is denying Serbs and Montenegrins that right. We are obliged to organize cultured, civilized, and productive talks, also because of our orientation toward democracy. A meeting of 10,000 people or more is not a condition for such a talk. The truth should not be told through vociferousness, mass attendance, etc. Conditions for telling the truth have been offered: a discussion forum at the Cankar Hall and several pages in the newspapers. It is the duty of the administrative organ to preserve law and order and to protect people and their property, Kucan said.

Ciril Ribicic added that the attitude toward Slovene initiatives often differs from the attitude toward other initiatives, and this can be seen in this case, too. When asked to comment on his view that, if the meeting is held, that would mean the beginning of an end to Yugoslavia as established by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], Ribicic said that he wanted to point to a different attitude of the federation in connection with the proposals coming from Slovenia. Such an attitude is not good for Yugoslavia's reputation in Slovenia, and therefore, at this time, the Slovenes see Yugoslavia as a heavy burden. If the meeting does take place and we react with a form of

passive resistance, Yugoslavia will never be as before—Yugoslavia established by AVNOJ, Ribicic said.

Kosovo Party Conference Views Ljubljana Rally

LD2711182389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference stated that the serious lack of understanding in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for this province's problems was the main motive for the announced meeting in Ljubljana—in order to tell our brothers and comrades the truth. The Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference maintains, as it was stated, that the announced departure of Kosovo citizens for Ljubljana has been provoked above all by the continuing tolerance within the Socialist Republic of Slovenia toward Albanian nationalism and separatism and its unwillingness to consistently support the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's policy in Kosovo.

The Presidium points to the entire complexity of the political situation and the responsibility of not just of the organizers and citizens who will take part in the rally, but of the hosts as well. All of them should contribute in such a way that the already complex political situation will not deteriorate and the main aim will be achieved—to publish the truth, ensure the solidarity of the brotherly Slovene people, and strengthen brotherhood and unity.

Slovene Democracy 'Showing True Colors'

AU2811163789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 89 p 7

[N. Dmitrovic commentary: "The Romanization of Slovenia"; reprinted from POLITIKA EKSPRES]

[Text] Somehow at the same time that one received news of the bringing down of the Berlin Wall—that monstrous edifice from the times of arbitrariness, intolerance, division, and suffering—the reports on "walls" having been erected on Romanian and Slovene borders have left an ominous sound in these regions.

During its 14th party congress, Romania is using such a "wall" to protect itself from the penetration of world democratic currents, and the famous Slovene democrats would like to erect a "wall" along their borders and thereby stop the truth that Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins want to convey to the people of Slovenia.

If somebody does not know by now what kind of democracy the one in Slovenia is, it is now showing its true colors. Those people who see eye to eye with the Slovene top leadership are offered a kind of democracy which even includes burying people alive [reference to announcement of Slobodan Milosevic's death published in Ljubljana MLADINA]. For those who possess facts in support of some other truth, Slovene democrats have prepared a "wall" along their borders. After the Berlin wall was brought down and the people appeared on the public scene in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary, Eastern Europe has been keeping the doors open wide for democratization processes. By erecting a "wall" along its borders, to the minds of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, Slovenia has certainly exterminated all democracy. One could even say that in this way it started along the road of Romanianizing its sovereignty, which has been cherished so much and praised to the skies.

In doing all this, the Slovene leading elite has nevertheless forgotten a "triviality": Slovene state borders are not borders between Croatia and Slovenia, but only the ones with Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. Therefore, they are on the Karavanke Mountains, near Gevgelija, and at the Iron Gate.... Our side has not erected a wall anywhere toward its neighbors, so nobody will erect it where there are no state borders anyway.

Potrc Gives Closing Address to Slovene Assembly

LD2811235389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—After noting that at their joint session today delegates of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly adopted all proposed stands, conclusions and remarks, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, addressed the delegates. The Slovene Assembly has never shirked its responsibility and it did not do so on 27 September this year when, despite pressures from the Yugoslav public, it proceeded to adopt and promulgate amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist republic [SR] of Slovenia.

Today this assembly also acted in accordance with its sense of responsibility, Potrc stressed.

The Assembly of the SR of Slovenia has given its support to a decision by the republic's Presidency and the Executive Council, empowering the Slovene internal affairs secretary to take measures provided for by the law on internal affairs and designed to ensure that an organized arrival at the meeting and the meeting itself are prevented. The Assembly has thereby taken on the responsibility for the above decision.

If the relevant organs in other republics and provinces fail to respect lawful decisions made by our organs and the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, they will be in breach of the SFRY Constitution, Potrc said. If they are not prepared to take part in the efforts to defend and respect this Constitution, the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and Slovene sovereignty, we will, on our own, ensure that our sovereignty is defended. This is our firm decision.

Potrc said that Slovenia wants to take part in the efforts to settle the situation in Kosovo but not in an unproductive way or the way which cannot guarantee equality and legal security for all or long-term results.

We favor a dialogue about the problems of Kosovo and of Yugoslavia. We do not assume responsibility for the break in a dialogue on equal terms. We accept no dictates or conditions for a dialogue. A dialogue is possible providing we are all allowed to put forward our individual views and providing one's views are not denounced or discredited beforehand. We are against continuing the present policy on Kosovo. All indications are that it has not produced desired effects nor will it in future, Potrc said. We therefore ask for an atmosphere conducive to a patient dialogue on a program which we also will approve of and in which we can also believe. For such a program we are prepared to invest our utmost efforts, but we refuse to take part in the policy conducted at the moment and are not prepared to share responsibility for it, Potrc said.

Potrc continued by calling on all competent federal organs, the organs of the SR of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as well as those in other republics and the province of Vojvodina to consider the stands of the Slovene Assembly and to open up a well-argued and democratic debate on different points of departure for a program for Kosovo.

We expect common sense to prevail in Yugoslavia and hope for an end to insanity, which has been sowing divisions and violence, which has created a situation likely to lead to the destabilization of Yugoslavia, which threatens the peace and security of our citizens, and which now threatens the sovereignty of Slovenia. Those who in the light of the above circumstances fail to act in line with their powers and within their competence cannot expect any support from us. Those who are not prepared to prevent this kind of behavior must be aware that they are, in fact, approving of it and are thus contributing to the creation of circumstances and relations which have nothing to do with the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia—based on Yugoslavia, which we support and in whose development we are prepared to t ''e part, Milan Potrc stressed in his closing address.

Slovene Stands on Kosovo Adopted

LD2911044589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia today considered current political and economic situation in Kosovo and, following a debate, unanimously adopted a number of stands, conclusions, and remarks.

In the adopted conclusions the Slovene Assembly proposes, inter alia, that the SFRY Assembly promptly reassess stands on the need for both a long-term and short-term policy of normalizing the situation in Kosovo and that it reexamine the basis for and the objectivity of the information used as a pretext for the introduction of emergency measures.

The Slovene Assembly calls on the SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly to review the legal foundations used to introduce emergency measures. It asks the two bodies to ensure that the emergency measures be lifted as soon as possible. The SFRY Presidency should, in view of the constitutional reform in Serbia, reassess the legal basis on which the decision was made to form a combined militia unit in Kosovo. It should also reexamine arguments for its continued existence and activities. The SFRY Assembly is called upon to speed up legal proceedings to decriminalize both the delict of thought and the verbal delict while, at the same time, competent organs are being asked in accordance with the principles of the law-governed state to ensure independence for the court and the court council at the trial of Azem Vlasi and others.

The SFRY Assembly should form a special working group with the task of reexamining the political background of the trial as well as the way in which all state organs behaved from the very beginning of the case. It is also being asked to assess the international dimensions of events in Kosovo, particularly the trial in Titova Mitrovica. The Federal Assembly is also asked to examine to what extent the high cost of prolonging the emergency situation is justified.

In the part of the conclusions referring to the announced meeting, delegates of the Slovene Assembly state that their Assembly energetically and definitely rejects enforced meetings as a method of forcing a "dialogue" upon someone. In other words, it cannot accept the suggested way of exchanging information among Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The SR of Slovenia is open to a creative and democratic dialogue on equal terms. To his end it has come up with a number of initiatives, which were either rejected or denounced as attacks on the unity of the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia and as support for irredentist and separatist aspirations.

Similar was the fate of the deliberately distorted interpretations of the joint statement from Canker Hall. There was no response to the Slovene initiative for a roundtable dialogue on Ljubijana television, in DNEVNIK, or in DELO or to the call for discussion in Canker Hall. Even an appeal by the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia for a meeting and open discussion on outstanding issues remained unheeded. Only the Assembly of the SR of Serbia responded to this appeal, but negatively and with a suggestion that a dialogue would be possible only when we in the SR of Slovenia start thinking in the same way as the political leadership in the SR of Serbia.

Insistence on holding meetings is wrongly presented as being the pinnacle of democracy, despite the fact that in this case we are faced with a crusade into the territory of another republic and an attempt by a group of citizens from Kosovo Polje to impose their ideas on us. Such a meeting would exacerbate intranational relations even more, and, in light of its expected size and threats of violence, it could, in fact, threaten the security of the

people and citizens of the SR of Slovenia and of those taking part in the meeting as well.

Delegates also note that the Slovene Assembly was informed about and approved of the stands of the republic's presidency and a decision by the republic's executive council adopted today in compliance with paragraph one, article 12 of the law on internal affairs asking the republic's internal affairs secretary to take necessary measures to guarantee safety.

The Assembly of the SR of Slovenia was also informed about a call made by various organizations, communities, and a group of delegates to immediately stop fulfilling our obligations to the federal fund and to continue only with direct forms of special purpose assistance and investment. Any unilateral termination of the obligations would be in contrast with the existing social plan and federal laws that the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia voted for together with others. For this reason it is not possible to comply with this call and similar initiatives. The Slovene Assembly asks its delegations and delegates in the SFRY Assembly to insist, during the work on drawing up 1990 economic policy documents, on the need for experts to assess the volume, the dynamics, and the use of the federal fund resources before any decision is made. In the meantime, they should insist on temporary financial measures and on regulations providing for unhindered direct pooling of resources.

The Assembly of the SR of Slovenia demands of the relevant departments to check and inform the public about the sources of funds used to finance activities surrounding the meetings.

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is a part of both the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. We will not accept the Kosovization of Yugoslavia. We will share responsibility with others providing our stands are taken into consideration. We want full equality, peace, togetherness, and a law-governed state in Kosovo as well as an existence worthy of all people of Kosovo. To this end we are prepared to invest our utmost efforts and these conclusions serve the same purpose.

Tomsic Resigns as Slovene Social Democrat Leader

AU2811164789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Nov 89 p 14

[D.D. report: "Tomsic Resigns"]

[Text] Ljubljana—After a debate held in the Ljubljana Slon Hotel's Crystal Hall, France Tomsic has given in and resigned as Slovene Social Democratic Alliance president. For some time now, Tomsic had been reproached for leading the future party in an authoritarian way, like an autocrat, and there has been some obvious opposition in the Executive Committee, including allegations that Tomsic not only persecutes intellectuals, but also that he is absolutely incompetent. Dr Joze Pucnik, who has been long considered the most significant personality in the absence of Dr Dimitrij Rupel, who is currently in the United States, has been elected president.

Slovenia Opposes Income Tax Law

LD2711163489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Tax on personal income is not under the purview of the Federation and is not a kind of taxation relevant to a unified Yugoslav market. This firm standpoint of the Slovene delegation, repeated today at a session of the Finance Committee [of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces] has led to the pontponement of the adoption of this exceptionally significant systemic regulation until the next session of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Branimir Zekan, federal secretary for finance, recommended to the Slovene delegation that it reexamine its stance once again because, he said, the failure to approve this regulation has great consequences for current development policy. This suggestion of his was respected, but the Slovene Assembly does not meet until 18 December, so the adoption of the law on the bases of the taxation system, instead of being tomorrow as envisaged, has been postponed until the next session of this Assembly Chamber. The coordination of the stances of the federal units on the tax system law has been going on now for a year. [passage omitted]

Slovene Youth Congress Viewed

AU2211130889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 89 p 7

[Ljubodrag Stojadinovic commentary: "Strictly Democratic Departments"]

[Text] The scene was slightly reminiscent of scenes from surrealistic films: A young man reads his political program to his contemporaries and several people who hold power. The young man says that he and his friends will take power, but first of all they will take over the Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs and that then they will see.

Everyone applauds, even those who are threatened by the usurpation of their current political strength.

The young man who spoke without hypocrisy about the charms of government and ways to conduct the struggle, Joze Skoljc, presented his platform for "conquering the world" at the youth congress. Therefore, the young people, who are headed by a man of such resolute opinions, do not want a future of middle-aged heavyweights, but a political position of decisionmaking here and now. However, all this contains strange rules, political games, mosaics and dominoes, and vocabulary that is very well known from somewhere. The young person did not offer a program of prosperity which would be

equal to "European life," but he definitely offered a European way: obligatory democracy as an inevitable cover for everything, even abstract political views.

The congress certainly found its platform in the young leader's speech. Of course, as well as the great words, ideology was expended as a concept which grew out of earlier times into the present ones and which, according to Skoljc, should be destroyed in the name of a future without chains.

Joze did not reply to the question of whether there can be an assault to conquer the top of the power pyramid without one's own ideology. He thought that there could be, but he could not avoid a clash with the ideology that in his campaign he is attempting to remove from history. He could not explain why his stands seem to be neither here nor there, although they are already to be found on some posters.

In the front rows, there was not one among those older Communists who was applauding or who resisted or disassociated themselves from the most radical ideas of the young man fighting for power.

One of the Communists told Joze and the others that anticommunism in itself is not enough for democracy.

The congress will certainly lead to a change in the name of the youth organization. The young men who already know quite well what they want are no longer young people. They are, for example, a party [stranka].

A more persistent searcher for new ideas would probably manage to find something that contains the aroma of something new and perhaps more valuable. One should not, purely for form's sake, doubt every new idea regardless of whether it is not a completely new one.

Perhaps one should worry, at least a little, about those who do not see in the projection of Skoljc's campaign for the top what the programs' protagonists want to be seen and do not totally agree with the new rulers. There is this reservation for quite practical reasons. In conquering the European Olympus of democracy, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia youth leaders want first of all to have an army ministry and a police ministry. Otherwise, the crazy idea born on the 2d day of the congress that the Army should be deprived of its five-point yellow star arose in the same kitchen as the idea of turning the red party star yellow.

The "youth" obviously learn more quickly than their teachers forget.